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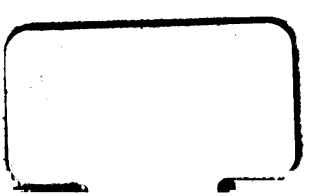

BTXA

GMG

D. Sheldon

TRAVELS

IN

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK;

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

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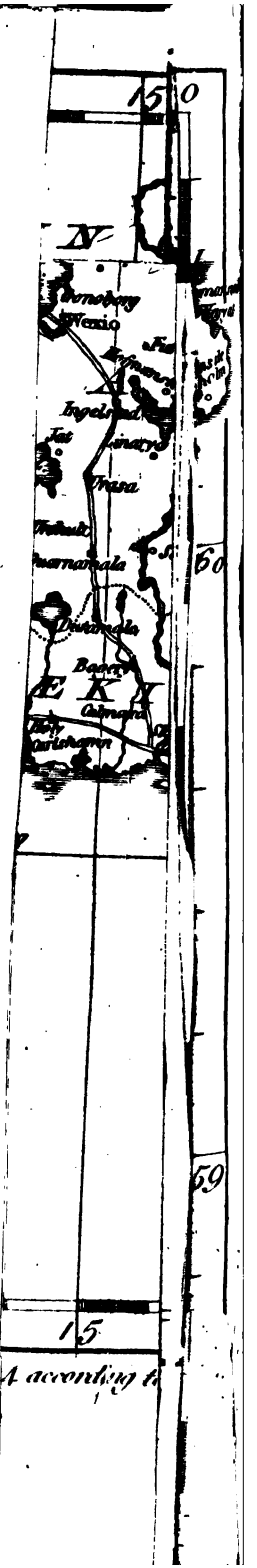
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TRAVELS

IN

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BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Journey through Ruſſian and Swediſh Finland.—Wiburgh.—Fredericshamn.—Louiſa.—Helſingfors.—Abo.—Journey in ſledges over the frozen ſurface of the Gulph of Bothnia. Iſle of Aland.—Paſſage by ſea to the coaſt of Sweden.—Journey to Stockholm.

ON the evening of the 3d of February, 1779, we took our departure from Petersburg, and travelling all night, arrived the following day at Wiburgh. To guard againſt the cold I cloathed myſelf in a ſuit of Bath drugget, lined with flannel, two pair of worſted ſtockings and ſlippers, over which boots were drawn well lined with flannel and fur. Theſe boots I generally wore in the carriage, but pulled off when I entered a houſe, and had the weather proved uncommonly ſevere, I was provided with a kind of ſheep-ſkin pantaloons, the wool on the inſide,

which reached to my hips, and were large enough to incloſe my boots; I wrapped round my body a great coat of blue nankeen, lined with lamb-ſkin, and occaſionally added a large peliſſe, or fur robe. I had a bear-ſkin muff, and my head was enveloped in a black velvet cap, quilted with ſilk and cotton, which covered my cheeks, was tied under my chin, and might, if neceſſary, be drawn over the face. Thus accoutred, I could venture to defy even the cold of Lapland, whither our courſe was directed.

Our train conſiſted of eight ſledges, including thoſe appropriated to the baggage; as on account of the narrowneſs of the roads, each perſon had a ſeparate carriage. Various kinds of ſledges are uſed in this country; ſome are entirely cloſe, others quite open, thoſe which we employed were partly open, and partly covered. A ſledge of this ſort is ſhaped like a cradle; the tilt, which projects two feet, was open in front, but provided with curtains, which might be drawn and tied together whenever the weather was ſevere*. The outſide was ſecured with matting and oil-ſkin, and the inſide with coarſe cloth. Within was a mattraſs, feather-bed and coverlid, or quilt of coarſe cloth. In this tra-

* The form of a ſledge is delineated in the back-ground of the engraving of the Ruſſian peaſant, in Vol. II.

velling

velling coach I ſometimes lay extended at full length, ſometimes ſat croſs-legged like a Turk, and at other times raiſed myſelf on a ſeat formed by two cuſhions. Each ſledge was drawn by two horſes, which, on account of the narrow roads, were harneſſed one before the other. The uſual rate of travelling is from ſix to eight miles an hour. The gliding of the carriage over the beaten ſnow was ſo eaſy, as to be almoſt imperceptible; and I never performed any journey in a more commodious manner. Though we continued our route during the night, and there was no moon; yet an *Aurora Borealis*, and the whiteneſs of the ſnow, ſupplied an agreeable ſpecies of twilight. The road, or rather path, was ſcarcely more than a yard in breadth, ſunk two or three feet beneath the level of the ſnow, and hardened by the repeated preſſure of horſes and ſledges. When two carriages met in this narrow track, the horſes, which turned out of the way, ſunk into the ſoft untrodden ſnow as high as their girths.

Feb. 4. On our arrival at Wiburgh about noon, we were conducted, by the governor's recommendation, to the houſe of a merchant, who entertained us in the moſt hoſpitable manner.

Ruſſian Finland, which formerly belonged to the Swedes, was partly ceded to the Ruſſians by the peace of Nyſtadt in 1721, and partly at

the treaty of Abo in 1743. This province retains moſt of its antient privileges, with ſome modifications introduced under the new government. The country produces beſides paſture, rye, oats, and barley, but not ſufficient for the inhabitants. Wiburgh retains its own civil and criminal courts of juſtice: in penal caſes, not capital, the puniſhments preſcribed by the provincial judicature are inflicted; but whenever a criminal is condemned to death, the Ruſſian laws interpoſe, reprieve him from the ſentence of beheading or hanging, as enjoined by the Swediſh codes, and conſign him to the knoot and tranſportation to Siberia. In the governor's court, buſineſs is tranſacted in the Swediſh, German, and Ruſſian tongues; the peaſants talk only the Finniſh dialect; but the inhabitants of the towns underſtand alſo Swediſh, and many of them German. The Lutheran is the eſtabliſhed religion of the province; but the Greek worſhip has been lately introduced by the Ruſſians.

Wiburgh, the capital of Ruſſian Finland, is a fortified town, and contains 9000 inhabitants; a few houſes are conſtructed with brick, but the greater part are of wood. According to the information of the merchant, in whoſe houſe we lodged, the exports, which are chiefly purchaſed by the Engliſh, are planks, tallow, pitch, and tar; and the imports, which are moſtly ſupplied from France and Holland, wines, ſpices, and ſalt.

Feb. 5.

Feb. 5. Having received an invitation to dinner from the governor, we repaired to his houſe at one o'clock, and partook of an elegant repaſt, at the concluſion of which we returned to our lodgings; and having paid our warmeſt thanks (for he would accept no other acknowledgements) to our hoſpitable landlord, we quitted Wiburgh, and purſued our journey through the night. In our route we did not once experience the leaſt delay for want of horſes; the governor having, with that polite attention which marked his character, ordered relays at every poſt. The country through which we paſſed, was a ſucceſſion of hill and dale, abounding with foreſts of fir and beech, interſperſed with numerous lakes, and thickly overſpread with ſhattered fragments of granite, which looked like the wrecks of mountains. There was no moon, nor even the ſmalleſt gleam of an *Aurora Borealis*; yet the ſnow caſt a ſtrong light; and our train of ſledges made a picturesque appearance, as they winded round the whitened hills, pierced into the thick foreſts, or extended in a ſtraight line along the frozen ſurface of the lakes. During our courſe, the ſtill ſilence of the night was frequently relieved by the carols of our drivers, who ſang the moſt ſimple and pleaſing airs. In this progreſs I beguiled the length of the journey, either by liſtening to their

ſongs echoed by the ſurrounding foreſts; by admiring the unuſual caſt of the nocturnal ſcenery; or by ſlumbering in my travelling couch as comfortably as in a bed. The weather was uncommonly moderate for the ſeaſon of the year; the mercury in the thermometer ſcarcely deſcending at midnight more than three degrees below freezing point.

Feb. 6. We arrived at nine in the morning at Frederickshamn, and took up our lodging at an inn, where we met with comfortable accommodations.

Frederickshamn*, when in the poſſeſſion of the Swedes, was only a ſmall village, but has been fortified by the Ruſſians. The town is ſmall and regular: in the centre is a ſquare, from which the ſtreets extend at right angles. The houſes, excepting one of brick, are all built of wood, but in the neateſt manner. The fortifications are ſtrong, the garriſon and ſeveral companies of ſoldiers, quartered in the neighbouring villages, amount to 6000 troops. The inhabitants carry on a ſmall commerce with England and Holland, export planks and tallow, and import ſalt and tobacco.

* In 1783, Frederickshamn was the ſcene of an interview between Catharine and Guſtavus, which continued three days. The Empreſs with a magnificence before unknown to theſe northern regions, erected a wooden palace, which contained a grand ſuite of apartments, and a theatre in which French plays were acted.

The

Scorodomof del. Seigel sculpsit.

A FIN PEASANT selling GAME.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan.y 1784. by T. Cadell. in the Strand.

The governor of Wiburgh having previouſly diſpatched a letter of recommendation in our favour, the commander of the garriſon of Frederickshamn, accompanied with the officers of his corps, honoured us with a viſit immediately on our arrival, and invited us to dinner. Theſe marks of attention and hoſpitality are always pleaſing to travellers in a foreign country; but were greatly enhanced in ſuch a ſeaſon of drearineſs. Our hoſt, an old German officer, who had ſeen much ſervice, and poſſeſſed all that liberal frankneſs and urbanity generally conſpicuous in veterans, enlivened an excellent entertainment with the vivacity of his converſation. The floors of the apartments, inſtead of being covered with carpets, were, according to a cuſtom not unuſual in theſe parts, ſtrewed with leaves and ſmall twigs of pines and firs, which afford, when bruiſed, a pleaſant ſmell, and give a cleanly appearance to the rooms.

Feb. 7. From Frederickshamn we continued our journey through a hilly country, abounding with foreſts and lakes, and in 34 miles arrived at the frontiers of this empire.

The peaſants of Finland differ materially from the Ruſſians in their look and dreſs: they had for the moſt part fair complexions, and many of them red hair; they ſhave their beards, wear

their hair parted at the top, and flowing to a conſiderable length over their ſhoulders*. We could not avoid remarking, that they were in general more civilized than the Ruſſians; and that even in the ſmalleſt villages we were able to procure much better accommodations, than we uſually met with in the largeſt towns of Ruſſia. The inhabitants of this province enjoy conſiderable privileges, and profeſs a different religion: how far theſe circumſtances may render them more enlightened than the Ruſſians is a curious queſtion, which cannot be anſwered by us who continued in the country during ſo ſhort a time.

The limits of Ruſſia and Sweden, ſettled by the peace of Abo, are formed by the river Kymen; on the ſouth bank was a wooden houſe, a rampart of earth, and a ſmall battery. Being admitted through a wooden barrier, guarded by a Ruſſian ſoldier, we croſſed a bridge to a ſmall iſland, paſſed another bridge over a branch of the Kymen, and went through a ſecond barrier, at which ſtood a Swediſh centinel. On quitting the Ruſſian dominions, our baggage was ſlightly ſearched, and entering Swediſh Finland, the ſame ceremony was performed by the cuſtom-

* The Ruſſians have generally dark complexions and hair; they alſo wear their beards, and cut their hair ſhort.

houſe

houſe officers of that diſtrict. Cloſe to the frontiers, we changed horſes at Lilla-Abborfors; and in leſs than an hour arrived at Louiſa.

Soon after our departure from Wiburgh, the weather changed to a ſevere froſt; the mercury in the thermometer ſinking to 22 below freezing point. This ſudden alteration in the atmoſphere was not diſagrecable: the warmth of our cloathing enabled us to defy the moſt intenſe froſt; nor had I once occaſion to uſe all the coverings with which I had the precaution to provide myſelf. The face was the only part which I found difficult to ſecure againſt the attacks of the cold, particularly at night, when I was inclined to ſleep. In that ſtate I generally covered my cheeks and forehead with the flaps of my velvet cap, leaving only my noſe and mouth free for reſpiration; and over them I ſometimes held my muff, or placed my handkerchief, which was attended with this inconvenience: as the breath inſtantly congealed, the parts of the muff or handkerchief, in contact with my mouth, became in a ſhort time clotted with icicles, and I was obliged repeatedly to change their poſition, to prevent an accumulation of the frozen particles.

Louiſa is an open town on a bay of the Gulf of Finland, and defended towards the ſea by a ſmall fortreſs. The houſes are all of wood, and

of

of two ſtories; they are painted with a red colour, and look much neater than thoſe of the common towns in Ruſſia. Soon after our arrival we waited on the governor to obtain an order for poſt-horſes, and procure information with reſpect to our intended route to Stockholm. In ſummer, travellers paſſing from Peterſburgh to the capital of Sweden, commonly go by land to Abo, where they take ſhip, and, ſteering through numerous iſlands in the Gulf of Bothnia to the eaſtern ſhore of Aland, croſs to the weſtern coaſt; again embark, and proceed through a more open ſea to Sweden. In winter, the paſſage acroſs the Gulf is not always practicable; for the channels between the iſlands are moſtly frozen, ſo as not to admit veſſels, yet ſeldom ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport carriages; while the remaining part of the open gulf, from Aland to the coaſt of Sweden, which is not ſprinkled with iſlands, is generally ſo embarraſſed with floating ice, as to render the navigation extremely dangerous.

The uſual way in winter, which we intended to purſue, lies round the Gulf of Bothnia through Torneo. We anticipated the ſatisfaction of viſiting a place remarkable for the meaſurement of a degree by the celebrated Maupertuis, of making an excurſion into Lapland beyond the Arctic Circle, of obſerving the manners and

cuſtoms

cuſtoms of the natives, and of riding in ſledges drawn by rein deer. But, alas! our curioſity was deſtined not to be gratified. On conſulting the governor of Louiſa, he informed us, that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to proceed into Lapland; for if a general thaw ſhould take place, which ſeemed likely to happen, we could not continue our route in ſledges; and as we could not procure carriages with wheels to convey us to Stockholm, we ſhould be obliged to proceed by ſea, which in ſpring is a dangerous and uncertain navigation. He added alſo, that the paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia was fortunately practicable; as the channels between the ſmall iſlands were ſufficiently frozen to bear ſledges, and the other part of the Gulf was not obſtructed with floating maſſes of ice. When the governor perceived that, notwithſtanding the favourable opportunity of croſſing the Gulf of Bothnia, and the dangers of a journey by land, we ſeemed eager to purſue our expedition to Lapland, he preſſed his advice with the moſt forcible reaſons, and did not deſiſt, until he had extorted a promiſe that we would proceed directly to Abo. The gentleman to whom we were indebted for this friendly remonſtrance, was a ſenſible well-informed officer, of Scottiſh extraction, who had ſerved ſeveral years in France in the Royal Swediſh regiment. During

ing a long converſation, he ſaid, "You have probably conceived a bad opinion of Finland, from the regions you have traverſed, which are the moſt deſolate parts of the province; but a few miles from the ſea-coaſt it is an agreeable country, fertile in paſture, rye, oats, and barley. From the abundance of rivers and lakes, ſome of which are of conſiderable length, an inland navigation might eaſily be formed at a little expence, and facilitate a communication between the different diſtricts."

Feb. 9. In purſuance of his advice, inſtead of continuing our route towards Lapland, we made our way to Abo. We ſet off at eight in the evening, and were lighted during the whole night by a beautiful *Aurora Borealis*; the thermometer was ſcarcely below freezing point. Our road lay near the Gulf of Bothnia, through a hilly, rocky, and woody country. I obſerved the ground thickly ſtrewed with detached maſſes of granite, as if broken by ſome violent convulſion. We frequently ſaw large flights of grouſe, black cocks, and ptarmigans. In theſe parts the large ſpecies of grouſe, called the cock of the wood, a bird almoſt equal in ſize to a ſmall turkey, is not uncommon; the moor-fowl and ptarmigans are plentiful; but the black game is ſo abundant, that we ſeldom ſat down to dinner, even at the commoneſt inns, without being regaled

regaled with a brace of thoſe delicious birds. Having paſſed ſeveral large lakes, with which the country abounds, and croſſed the frozen ſurface of a bay, we arrived on the enſuing morning at Helſingfors, which ſtands in a romantic ſituation, on a riſing ſhore, near ſeveral rocks and huge fragments of granite.

Agreeably to an invitation from the governor, to whom we applied for further information reſpecting our paſſage acroſs the Gulf of Bothnia, we repaired in the evening to a ball: the gentlemen and ladies all wore the new Swediſh dreſs*, and amuſed themſelves chiefly with minuets and Engliſh country dances. The company were polite and attentive, and ſeveral accoſted us in French. Cloſe to Helſingfors is a ſmall fort, called Ulricaberg, capable of containing 200 men; and at a little diſtance another was erecting (in Oct. 1784) named Scatander Tyg, which will hold a garriſon of 400 ſoldiers.

But one of the moſt curious and important fortreſſes in the Swediſh dominions, and perhaps in Northern Europe, is Sveaborg, ſituated near Helſingfors. In my former tour we were not permitted to viſit this fortreſs for want of an order from the court; but we were more fortu-

* See the deſcription and engravings of theſe dreſſes in the next chapter.

nate

nate in our ſecond journey through theſe parts; his Swediſh majeſty himſelf having condeſcended to command the prime miniſter, Count Creutz, to give us an order for that purpoſe. In conſequence of this paſſport, the governor ſent his boat to convey us to the fortreſs, and did us the honour to accompany us himſelf round the works, and point out what was moſt remarkable.

Three miles and an half from Helſingfors are ſeveral ſmall rocky iſlands in the Gulf of Finland, which compoſe the fortreſs of Sveaborg. They have been lately fortified for the purpoſe of maintaining a fleet in conſtant readineſs to ſail, and containing a garriſon for the defence of Finland.

Seven iſlands compoſe this fortreſs, lying within the circumference of 4 miles: 1. Long-ön, or Long Iſland, lies S. W. and is the neareſt to Helſingfors; it is 600 feet in length, and 300 in breadth. 2. Waſter Swart-ön, or Weſt Black Iſland, S. E. of Long-ön; 1,400 feet in length, and 800 in breadth. 3. Lilla Swart-ön, or Little Black Iſland, eaſt of Waſter Swart; 800 feet ſquare. 4. Oſter Swart-ön, or Eaſt Black Iſland, Eaſt of Lilla Swart; 3,000 feet in length, and 1,600 in breadth. 5. Warg-ön, or Wolf's Iſland, lying in the center between Waſter and Lilla Swartz-ön; 2,400 feet in length, and 2,000 in breadth; it is the principal iſland,

and

and contains the governor's houſe. 6. Guſtaf's Ward, or the Arms of Guſtavus, S. E. of Wargön; 1,600 feet in length, and 1,200 in breadth. 7. Shantz Landet, or Land-fortreſs, South of Guſtaf's Ward, an * iſland as big as both Wargön and Oſter Swart-ön, but of which only 600 feet are to be fortified.

The project of ſurrounding theſe iſlands with fortifications was formed by General Ehrenſwald, and the work begun in 1748. £.750,000 have been already expended, and to compleat the remainder will require above £.500,000. It is computed, that the whole might be finiſhed in ſix years, if ſufficient money could be obtained; but according to the ſlow manner in which the work is now carrying on, a century muſt elapſe before its completion.

The works are really ſtupendous and worthy of the ancient Romans. The walls are chiefly of hewn granite, covered with earth, from ſix to ten feet thick, and in a few places not leſs than 48 in height. The batteries, which begin upon a level with the water, and riſe in tiers one above the other in all directions, commanding the only channel through which large veſſels can ſail to Helſingfors, render the paſſage of

* In the Voyage de deux Francois an iſland is mentioned near the principal iſle on which the fortreſs is ſituated, from which the fortreſs might be advantageouſly attacked. It is added that Sweden intended to fortify it.

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an enemy's fleet extremely dangerous, if not impracticable.

In Warg-ön is a dry dock, capable of containing eleven or twelve frigates, hollowed in the ſolid rock, 800 feet long, 200 broad, and fourteen deep. It is divided into three equal parts by two brick walls, which run lengthways; each part will contain four frigates, and may be cloſed with ſluice-gates, ſo that each veſſel lies ſeparately from the others. The whole is covered with a wooden pent-houſe roof, in order to preſerve the frigates from the rain: this baſon contained eleven frigates. At one extremity of this dock is a baſon 200 feet ſquare, cloſed at each end with ſluice-gates, which ſerves for the entrance and exit of the frigates, and likewiſe for repairing or building ſhips. At the other extremity another baſon was finiſhed of the ſame dimenſions, for a man of war, which may likewiſe ſerve for the paſſage of the frigates, whenever the other is employed in repairing or building ſhips. The magazines for the ſtores and artillery are built on the edge of the water, which is of ſufficient depth to admit each veſſel cloſe to the quay, to be equipped without trouble. There is an excellent port for 70 ſhips of the line, and a ſmall harbour no leſs ſecure for ten frigates.

The garriſon, in October 1784, conſiſted of 350 ſol-

350 ſoldiers and 600 marines; but when the whole fortifications are completed, will require 12,000 men.

For the purpoſe of building and fitting ſhips at Sveaborg, the Swedes procure oak from Gothland, part of the flax from Finland, hemp and maſts from Riga. Such, in October 1784, was the ſtate of Sveaborg; a fortreſs, which, even in its preſent unfiniſhed ſtate, will be capable of haraſſing the Ruſſians in caſe of war, and which, ſhould it be completed, may juſtly be called the Gibraltar of the north.

Feb. 11. We quitted Helſingfors in the morning, and arrived at Abo, which is diſtant 150 miles, on the evening of the 12th, through a tract of country better peopled than the other parts of Finland which we had hitherto traverſed, and diverſified with a beautiful mixture of hill and dale.

Abo, the capital of Swediſh Finland, called by the Fins *Turcu*, lies on the point where the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland unite; it is ſingularly ſituated, partly on a ridge of precipitous rocks, and partly in a ſmall plain, on the banks of the Aura. A craggy eminence, overhanging the town, commands a curious view of the caſtle, the Gulf of Finland interſperſed with numerous rocky iſlands, and the wild and barren environs. The town, which is not ill built,

contains ſeveral brick houſes, but the generality are of wood painted red. The inhabitants export linen, corn, planks, and iron.

Soon after our arrival, the burgomaſter obligingly waited on us, and the following morning conducted us to the univerſity, which was founded in 1640 by Chriſtina, and endowed with the ſame privileges as that of Upſala. There are fifteen profeſſors, and 300 ſtudents. The library contains near 10,000 volumes, a catalogue of which was printed in 1655, and a ſecond edition in 1685 *. There is alſo a ſchool at Abo, which was inſtituted by Guſtavus Adolphus, for 300 ſcholars. A botanical garden, founded in 1776 by the preſent king, contained, in 1784, fifteen hundred exotics, and about the ſame number of indigenous plants; a liſt of which has been lately given to the public by the preſent profeſſor.

In the cathedral, a large brick building, conſtructed in 1300, is the ſepulchre of Catharine, the favourite miſtreſs and wife of Eric the Fourteenth, who ſurvived her unfortunate lord five-and-thirty years, and died at Liuxdal in 1612, in the 64th year of her age †.

Near Abo is the caſtle or antient palace, formerly the occaſional reſidence of the Swediſh ſo-

* Arckenholtz Memoires de Chriſtine, Tom. II. p. 309.

† See an account of Catharine, Chap. 9.

vereigns;

vereigns; it ſtands on the mouth of the Aura, where large veſſels, which cannot paſs to Abo, lie at anchor; and is a brick building, plaiſtered white. On the weſtern ſide is a ſquare tower, looking towards the Gulf of Bothnia, in an apartment of which Eric the Fourteenth was for ſome time impriſoned. This palace has been lately converted into a diſtillery for ſpirituous liquors.

Feb. 13. About 40 miles from Abo we arrived on the Gulf of Bothnia, and paſſed over the frozen ſurface along a track marked with two rows of ſmall trees placed upright in the ice as a direction for travellers. We croſſed occaſionally ſeveral ſmall iſlands and rocks, ſeparated from each other by ſtraits from fifty yards to four or five miles in breadth. At midnight we ſtopped on the iſland Variſala till break of day; as well from the dread of large holes in the ice, which render travelling by night very hazardous; as becauſe our danger would have been extreme, had we wandered from the path, and been loſt on the wide expanſe of ice; which had nearly happened to colonel Floyd, as he thus deſcribes in his journal: "A cowardly driver overturned me into the ſnow, but the fall was gentle. Night came on, at firſt much overcaſt, but afterwards illuminated by an *Aurora Borealis*, which was not in ſtreaks like thoſe uſually in England,

but a continued glare of red light. We arrived at length on the Gulf, croſſed a ſheet of ice many miles in length, and ſome ſmall rocky iſlands, upon one of which my driver ſuddenly turned into the yard of a peaſant's cottage, and ſtopped. I ſoon perceived that he had loſt his way: inquiry being in vain on my part, as I could not ſpeak the language, I encouraged him by ſigns to endeavour to regain the track; he complied, but with ſuch ill humour, that he drove againſt a rock, and again overſet me, though fortunately without any bad conſequence; he then paſſed by a narrow way through a wood, and ſoon arrived at the edge of the iſland. I liſtened eagerly for the ſound of the other ſledges, but to no purpoſe; then, anxiouſly looking around, I deſcried at ſome diſtance the boughs which mark the road over the ice; and, inſtantly pointing it out, we purſued the path, and after ſeveral miles overtook my companions, determined never again to loſe ſight of the laſt ſledge. In croſſing, however, another iſland, the ſledge which immediately preceded mine ſuddenly ſtopped; we had again loſt the way, but ſoon recovered it, and joined the party."

On Variſala we found a comfortable village; the inhabitants were Finns, and ſpoke only the Finniſh tongue.

Feb. 14.

Feb. 14. We ſet out early: the weather was hazy and unpromiſing, and the wind began to freſhen. The poſt was 18 miles in length: we paſſed many ſmall iſlands and rocks; ſome covered with underwood, and ſprinkled with villages; others bare granite, without a ſingle habitation or tree. In a few places the ice of the Gulf was a ſmooth ſheet; in others it was roughly frozen in waves and large maſſes. The vaſt extended plain of ice, broken in abrupt ridges, the boundleſs and dreary track marked only by a line of trees, and the rugged rocks ſtarting up on every ſide, afforded one of the moſt deſolate ſcenes imaginable.

We changed horſes at Brando, an iſland containing ſix or ſeven villages, a church, ſome arable land, and ſmall woods. About three we arrived on the iſland Kumblinge, 36 miles from Vaſiſala; as the next poſt was above thirty miles, we prudently took up our quarters in a peaſant's cottage, rather than again encounter the hazards of a journey by night. Kumblinge contains a church and a few ſcattered cottages, the inhabitants ſpeak the Swediſh language. The peaſants were well clothed; the men wore long cloth coats lined with ſheep-ſkin; the women a ſtriped kind of woollen ſtuff, of mixed colours, chiefly green, white, and red; they ſeemed very honeſt; and our ſervants had no occaſion to em-

ploy the ſame vigilance in watching the luggage as was requiſite in Ruſſia. The cottages were built like thoſe in Ruſſia, with whole trees piled one upon the other, and mortaiſed and tenanted at each extremity; the timbers of ſeveral were ſawed on the outſide in the form of planks. They generally contain two or three apartments, ſmall, but neat and clean; have all brick chimnies, and a ſemicircular fire-place high and narrow, in which the wood is placed upright, and by means of birch-bark inſtantaneouſly kindled. The villagers poſſeſſed many conveniences of life, which we did not meet with in Ruſſia; particularly beds, and a greater variety of houſehold furniture.

While our dinner was preparing, we ſtrolled to a windmill ſituated on an eminence, from whence we commanded a full view of the iſland, which ſeemed a huge pile of rocks of red and grey granite. Near the village we obſerved three or four fields which had been ſown with rye, and at a little diſtance a ſmall wood of firs and birch; in the other parts we could diſcover nothing but juniper and moſs.

The ſevere froſt of the preceding day was ſucceeded by a ſudden thaw, accompanied with rain and ſleet; and in the evening a violent hurricane came on. We heard on all ſides the cracking of the ice like the exploſions

* of

of thunder, and were alarmed with the dread of being detained in ſo dreary a ſpot: for if, as we had reaſon to apprehend, the ice had been broken up, a continuance of the thaw for a fortnight at leaſt would have been requiſite, before any communication by water could be formed with the continent or neighbouring iſlands. The wind increaſing to a violent degree towards midnight, and the noiſe from the burſting of the ice redoubling, we imagined that a conſiderable delay was unavoidable, and began to inquire whether the inhabitants were furniſhed with ſufficient proviſions to ſupply our wants and their own. We were happy to find, that four cows, a few hogs, and poultry, and a large ſtore of hard bread, were more than ſufficient to remove all apprehenſions of famine during a much longer period than we were likely to remain. Fortunately, however, we did not put theſe reſources to the trial: towards morning the wind ſubſided, and the rents in the ice not appearing dangerous, we continued our route at ſunriſe. It was a moſt delightful day; in the morning the mercury in the thermometer ſtood at two degrees above freezing point, and at noon roſe to five; the ſun ſhone with ſuch brightneſs, and the weather was ſo clear and warm, that we might almoſt have imagined it ſummer, had we not been undeceived by the frozen maſs around us. On the preceding day the whole ſcenery

was uniformly enveloped with ſnow, which being melted, the ſurface of the Gulf became a pure expanſe of ice. The diſtance to the next poſt was 35 miles, and much leſs diverſified with iſlands than the parts which we had paſſed before our arrival at Kumblinge. In one place we traverſed a level ſheet of ice, at leaſt ten miles in length, unbroken with a ſingle rock or iſland; but as the late ſtorm had produced ſeveral apertures, and as the thaw increaſed, we went on with caution, preceded by a guide, who carried a hatchet and plumbing iron; with the hatchet he occaſionally cut the ice, and with the iron meaſured its thickneſs, to aſcertain whether it was ſufficiently ſtrong to ſupport our ſledges. In ſome places he made a conſiderable circuit to avoid an aperture, often called out to the drivers to keep at ſome diſtance from each other, and repeatedly warned them to follow the preciſe track which he purſued. In this manner he conducted us in about eight hours, and without the leaſt accident, to the iſle of Aland.

Aland, which gives to this cluſter of iſlands the general appellation of the Iſles of Aland, is 40 miles in length, and from 12 to 16 in breadth: it contains about fifteen villages, and 9000 inhabitants; they ſpeak the Swediſh language, but are included in the government of Finland, both in ſpiritual and temporal affairs.

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The baſis of the ſoil ſeemed to be granite, of the ſame nature with the ſhores of Finland, and of the numerous iſlands which we had lately traverſed; and the whole aſſemblage appeared like a ridge of rocks, which had been once joined to each other and to the continent, but ſeparated by the ſea.

We changed horſes at Varyat, Scarpats, Harolſby, Enkerby, and Trebenka; between Scarpats and Harolſby we deſcended into a broad and cultivated plain, containing arable and paſture land, a lake, and a river. In the midſt of this plain ſtand, on an inſulated rock of red granite, the ruins of Caſtelholm, an antient palace, built with red granite and brick, which is remarkable in the hiſtory of Sweden; it commands a pleaſing, though bounded proſpect of two ſmall lakes, whoſe banks riſe into gentle eminences ſkirted with wood. To this ſolitary rock, Eric XIV. was, in 1571, confined by his brother John III.; and the dungeon, in which he was impriſoned, ſtill bears the name of the apartment of Eric. After crawling through an arch on our hands and knees, on account of the ſtones and bricks which obſtructed the paſſage, we came into the ſhell of a large apartment, entered a ſmall room; and aſcending a ladder of nine or ten ſteps, many of which were broken, paſſed through a trap-door into the dungeon of Eric.

Eric. It is 20 feet long and 11 broad, low and vaulted, and has only one ſmall opening to admit the light, which is ſcarcely more than two inches in breadth. I ſhall have occaſion in another place * to mention the ſufferings and cataſtrophe of this unfortunate ſovereign.

Having gratified our curioſity at Caſtelholm, we continued our route during the night: the ſnow being melted by the thaw, our journey was tedious and diſagreeable; the ſledges were ſlowly dragged over the rocky and ſandy roads; and we did not, before five in the morning, reach the place of embarkation on the weſtern ſhore. The wind blowing directly contrary, we took up our lodging at the poſt-houſe, and retired reluctantly to reſt; but were awakened about ten, with the agreeable news that it was ſhifted, and we might be able to croſs the Gulf. The only decked veſſel which this place afforded being ice-bound, we had no other reſource but two open boats, manned with a pilot, five or ſix fiſhermen, and ten peaſants; but, as the weather was fine, we ordered our baggage on board, and embarked at mid-day. The diſtance to the oppoſite coaſt is 40 miles. The firſt part of this paſſage was interſperſed with ſeveral rocky iſles, one of which appeared inhabited; but from the extremity of the laſt iſland,

* Chap. 9.

which

which is 26 miles from the continent of Sweden, the ſea is open. From that point we had a fine breeze, which carried us at the rate of ſeven knots an hour; and we were within ſix miles of the coaſt about ſun-ſet, with the proſpect of a ſpeedy diſembarkation. Soon afterwards the breeze ſlackened, and was followed by a calm, which laſted half an hour; when the wind roſe in the oppoſite quarter, and blew directly from ſhore. In this ſituation the night overtook us; the gale freſhened, the ſea ran high, the coaſt was rocky and full of breakers, our veſſel a crazy fiſhing-boat, and the greater part of our crew wholly unexperienced. We in vain endeavoured by tacking and rowing to reach the ſhore; and were ſeriouſly alarmed, leſt we ſhould not weather the ſtorm. In this ſtate of anxiety we continued until midnight, the gale hourly increaſing; when at length by a fortunate tack and inceſſant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coaſt: we inſtantly hauled down the ſails, and rowed for a conſiderable time, though ſtill without being able, on account of the breakers, to find a proper place for landing. After ſeveral fruitleſs attempts, we ran the boat on ſhore, and diſembarking on a ſhelving hill of ice, crawled on our hands and knees, and gained the land, though with much difficulty.

We here eſcaped a danger, which at the time we

we did not apprehend; theſe ſhelves of ice are frequently full of large holes, into which had we fallen, we muſt inevitably have periſhed. Having providentially eſcaped theſe and other perils, we procured a guide from an adjacent cottage, and proceeded to Griſlehamn, about the diſtance of three miles. We walked through woody and rugged ways, half melted ice, ſometimes above our ancles in water, repeatedly falling down, but exceedingly happy that we were upon land; for we heard the wind blowing boiſterouſly, and the breakers roaring with increaſing violence. About three in the morning we arrived at the inn; and at five, the other bark, containing our ſervants and baggage, landed with ſtill greater difficulty than we had experienced, after eſcaping wreck upon the rocks; the ſailors were ſo terrified that they cried; and our courier was inceſſantly employed in croſſing himſelf, and exclaiming, "*Domine, non ſum dignus mori.*"—"Lord, I am not worthy to die*."

Feb. 18.

* The numerous ſhoals and rocky iſlands render this paſſage extremely dangerous at all ſeaſons of the year, whenever the wind is high or the ſea rough; this danger is increaſed by the unſkilfulneſs of the ſailors, and the frail condition of the open boats employed on theſe occaſions. In my ſecond expedition into the north, in 1784, I paſſed from Griſlehamn to Abo, and was again expoſed to ſome difficulties.

Oct. 16. We embarked at Griſlehamn at ſix in the morning, and a favourable breeze carried us in leſs than three hours and a half

Feb. 18. The ſnow had totally diſappeared; the dragging of our ſledges over the bare ground

half to the ſmall iſle of Eckeru, diſtant 36 miles from the coaſt of Sweden. From Eckeru we ferried over the bay of Markſund to Fredenby, on the iſle of Aland, and croſſed that iſland to Bomarſund, a ſmall village at the eaſtern extremity. From that place there are two paſſages to Abo; the one is to ferry over the ſeveral ſtraits and firths to Kumblinge, Brando, and ſeveral other ſmall iſlands, to the continent of Finland, about ſix miles from Abo; the other is to proceed the whole way by ſea from Bomerſund to Abo. As the removal of our carriage from the ſeveral boats at the numerous ferries would have been attended with unavoidable delays in the former paſſage, we preferred the latter, and accordingly hired two open boats to convey us directly to Abo.

The next morning we embarked at ſeven, and were expeditiouſly carried forwards by a ſide breeze. But as the wind blew freſh, and the ſea ran high, a Swediſh gentleman, whom we accidentally met at Griſlehamn, and who deſired to accompany us to Abo, was ſuddenly alarmed; and communicating his fears to the boatmen, prevailed on them to land on Long Iſland, about four miles from Bomerſund. Here they continued three hours on the beach, reſiſting all our importunities and offers to induce them to proceed. The wind at length ſomewhat abating, they were prevailed on to ſet ſail; but in a ſhort time the ſailors (if they deſerve that appellation) were again alarmed, and their panic was ſtill farther increaſed by the terrors of the Swediſh gentleman, who like Gonzalo in the Tempeſt, "would have given a thouſand furlongs "of ſea for an acre of barren ground, long heath, brown furze, "or any thing."

At length, the maſt cracking towards the bottom, the boatmen took down the ſail, and put in at a little iſland, or rather rock, where we all landed. It was two o'clock, and as the ſailors declared their reſolution of not venturing again to ſea till the wind abated, we had the proſpect of paſſing the night on this dreary ſpot. We examined our ſtation. It was a rocky iſlet of red granite, a quarter of a mile in circumference, yielding a few blades of ruſſet

ground was a work of difficulty and labour; and notwithſtanding we began our journey about ten in the morning, and travelled till duſk, we were ſcarcely able to reach the village of Staby, 20 miles from Griſlehamn; although half the route lay over large lakes and flooded marſhes, where we ſtill found the ice ſufficiently ſtrong. The experience of this day's journey convinced us to what a wretched ſituation we ſhould have been reduced, had we purſued our courſe towards Lapland; and reminded us, how much we were indebted to the ſalutary remonſtrances

ruſſet graſs, and twenty or thirty ſtubbed trees; expoſed on all ſides to "the pitileſs winds," and ſurrounded by uninhabitable crags ſtarting up in the midſt of the waves.

Having landed our proviſions, we made a comfortable meal on ſome cold ham and chicken, collected ſome branches, kindled a fire, and felled two trees, to ſupply us with fuel during the cold night we were preparing to paſs in this deſerted ſpot. Towards evening, however, we fortunately overcame the obſtinacy of the boatmen, and prevailed on them by importunities and money to re-embark before it was duſk; but as they were apprehenſive of truſting their little bark to the open ſea as far as Kumblinge, the neareſt habitation in the way to Abo, they returned to Long Iſland, and landed us about ſeven at a neat village called Oſterwick, where we found good beds and tolerable accommodations, greatly enhanced by comparing our ſituation with that of the deſert iſland we had recently quitted, on which we expected to paſs a moſt comfortleſs night.

The next morning a gentle but favourable breeze carried us above ſeventy miles, through narrow ſtraits, between numerous iſlands, and rocky coaſts, wild, yet ſprinkled with trees, to a ſmall village on the peninſula of Finland, two miles from Abo.

of

of the governor of Louiſa. We paſſed the night at Staby; and, as we found it impracticable to proceed in ſledges, continued our route the next morning in open carts, the only carriages we were able to procure. In this manner we journeyed to Stockholm; where, on account of various delays, we did not arrive until the following evening.

The diſtance from Griſlehamn, the place of our diſembarkation, to Stockholm, is above eighty miles; yet the country was ſo thinly peopled, that we did not paſs through one town. The villages were few and ſmall, but pictureſque, being moſtly ſituated on the points of the craggy rocks, and frequently overhanging a lake. Many ſtraggling cottages and houſes were pleaſantly ſcattered over the face of the country, which was in general hilly, rocky, and covered with foreſts, corn, and paſture. After the dreary ſcenes to which we had long been accuſtomed, the herbage, juſt recovered from the ſnow under which it was buried during the whole winter, was a grateful object; it was remarkable, that the graſs and blades of young corn had contracted a yellowiſh hue, and appeared as if parched by a burning ſun. As we approached the capital, the country was extremely wild and rocky, and ſtill more thinly inhabited; I ſcarcely

ſcarcely ever obſerved a more deſolate, yet more picturesque, region than the environs of Stockholm. We entered that city on the evening of the 20th of February; and drove to an inn in the centre of the town; where we met with excellent apartments, and every accommodation we could deſire, to alleviate the fatigues of our late journey.

CHAP.

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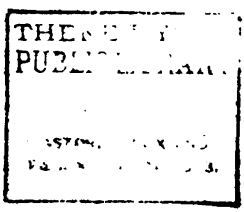
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. II. p. 178, upon the ... the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many abſurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

ler.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CHAP.

CHAP. 2.

Deſcription of Stockholm.—Preſentation to the king.—New Swediſh dreſs.—Public ſuppers.—Royal family.—Tombs and characters of Magnus Ladiſlas, Charles Canutſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, Charles XI. and XII.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Schools.—Converſation with a Laplander on the general ſtate of Lapland.—Similarity between the Hungarian and Lapland languages.—Drottningholm.

THE foundation of Stockholm* is, by the beſt Swediſh writers, generally attributed to Birger Jarl, regent of the kingdom, about the middle of the 13th century, during the minority of his ſon Waldemar, who had been raiſed to the throne by the ſtates of the kingdom; but it was not before the laſt century that the royal reſidence was transferred from Upſala to this city.

During the courſe of my travels, I have ſeen no town with whoſe ſituation I was ſo much ſtruck as that of Stockholm, for its ſingular and romantic ſcenery. This capital, which is long and irregular, occupies, beſides two peninſulas, ſeven ſmall rocky iſlands, ſcattered in the Mæ-

* The reader who is fond of ſuch inquiries, may conſult Balins Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. II. p. 178, upon the derivation of the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many abſurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

ler, in the ſtreams which iſſue from that lake, and in a bay of the Baltic. Numberleſs rocks of granite riſing boldly from the ſurface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houſes, or feathered with wood, form a variety of contraſted and enchanting views. The harbour is an inlet of the Baltic; the water is of ſuch depth that ſhips of the largeſt burthen can approach the quay, which is of conſiderable breadth, and lined with ſpacious buildings and warehouſes. At the extremity of the harbour ſeveral ſtreets riſe one above another in the form of an amphitheatre, and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the ſummit. Towards the ſea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow ſtrait, and winding among high rocks, diſappears from the ſight; the proſpect is terminated by diſtant hills, overſpread with foreſts.

It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate theſe ſingular views. The central iſland, from which the city derives its name, and the Riddarholm, are the handſomeſt parts of the town. Excepting in the ſuburbs, where ſeveral houſes are of wood, painted red, the generality of the buildings are of ſtone, or brick ſtuccoed white. The palace, which ſtands in the centre of Stockholm, and on the higheſt ſpot of ground, was begun by Charles

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C. Ruotte fecit.

A SWEDISH GENTLEMAN in the COURT DRESS.

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Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular ſtone edifice, and the ſtile of architecture is both elegant and magnificent. The traveller, who is fond of the pictureſque in nature, will be charmed with many delightful points of view; but with none more than that from an eminence in the South ſuburbs, called the Mount of Moſes. From this enchanting ſpot, the ſpectator commands a bird's-eye view, almoſt unparalleled in its kind, of the city and various iſles, of the harbour, the channel, and the lake Mæler, forming an aſſemblage of rocks, houſes, wood, ſhips, and water, in all the variety of rugged, beautiful, and romantic ſcenery.

Feb. 23. At ſeven in the evening we accompanied the Engliſh miniſter, Sir Thomas Wroughton, to court, and had the honour of being preſented to Guſtavus III. All the company in the drawing-room, the foreign miniſters and ourſelves excepted, wore the national habit lately introduced by his preſent majeſty. The dreſs of the men reſembles the old Spaniſh, and conſiſts of a ſhort coat, or rather jacket, a waiſtcoat, a cloak, a hat with a feather *à la Henry* IV. a ſaſh, a ſword, large and full breeches, and roſes in the ſhoes: the cloak is of black cloth, edged with red ſattin; the coat or jacket, and breeches, are alſo black, ornamented with red ſtripes and buttons; the waiſt-

coat, ſaſh, pinks at the knees, and roſes for the ſhoes, are of red ſattin. The dreſs of the ladies is a black ſilk robe with ſlit ſleeves puffed with white gauze, coloured ſaſh and ribbands. This is the uſual court apparel. On ſolemn feſtivals the men wear white or blue cloth or ſattin, lined and ſtriped with red ſattin; the women white ſilk or ſattin, with coloured ribbands and ſaſh. The men, who have not been preſented at court, are dreſſed almoſt entirely in black, without red lining and ornaments; and the women of the ſame deſcription muſt not appear with the white gauze ſleeves. In other reſpects, their attire is ſimilar to that juſt deſcribed.

At half paſt ſeven, the king and queen entered the drawing-room, both in the natioal habit. His majeſty paſſed gradually from one end of the apartment to the other; addreſſed himſelf to different perſons with great vivacity, and ſaluted, according to the etiquette of the court, every ſenator's lady. Being preſented to the king and queen, his majeſty did us the honour to converſe with each of us for a conſiderable time with great affability. At the concluſion of this ceremony they withdrew into an adjacent apartment, and were followed by great part of the company. The king played at *trente et quarante* with about twenty perſons, and the queen ſat down to *ombre*. At nine, their

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their majeſties quitted play, and, repairing to another apartment, ſupped in public: the princeſs Sophia Albertina was the only perſon who ſat down to table with them, that diſtinction being on theſe occaſions confined to the royal family. Oppoſite to the king and queen, at a ſmall diſtance from the lower end of the table, were ranges of tabourets or ſtools for ſenators' and embaſſadors' wives, no other ladies being permitted to ſit; ſo that none below thoſe ranks ever make their appearance at theſe entertainments.

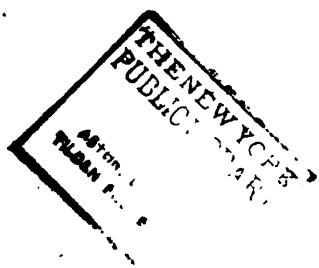
The ſtricteſt adherence to form is obſerved: while many ſovereigns of Europe are endeavouring to retrench the ceremonies attendant on royalty, Guſtavus has introduced a degree of pomp and etiquette ſimilar to that uſed at Verſailles, and hitherto unknown in this country. The king poſſeſſes too enlarged an underſtanding to be, in this inſtance, a ſervile imitator of the French; it is therefore more probable, that his motive for this conduct is political; as the increaſe of royal prerogative may have rendered it expedient to throw an additional ſplendour round the throne. During ſupper, the king talked almoſt inceſſantly with the Swediſh nobility, and the foreign miniſters and gentlemen who ſtood near his perſon.

On the following Tueſday, at the ſame cere-

mony of a drawing-room and a public ſupper, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me above half an hour on various points of the Swediſh hiſtory. He delighted me with many lively remarks and judicious reflections on the different characters of the kings of Sweden; and particularly expatiated with rapture upon the eminent qualities of Guſtavus Vaſa and Guſtavus Adolphus, who ſeemed the favourite objects of his admiration. Among other topics he mentioned the propoſal made by Eric XIV. to eſpouſe our Elizabeth, and the ſplendid embaſſy of that monarch's brother John to London, for the purpoſe of demanding her in marriage; he added, "this tranſaction has eſcaped the notice of many Engliſh hiſtorians, and even Hume, who in general pays great attention to foreign affairs, has touched on it only in a curſory manner." He concluded by obſerving, that Celſius, in his excellent Life of Eric*, had given a curious and circumſtantial account of John's embaſſy, and of the whole correſpondence between Eric and Elizabeth.

As our ſtay at Stockholm was ſhort, I had no further opportunity of enjoying thoſe agreeable

* The original of this excellent work is written in Swediſh; there is a French tranſlation which I read with great pleaſure, particularly the part to which the king alluded. See Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. par Olof Celſius.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Ch.r Ruotte Sculp.t Londini

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and inſtructive converſations with which I might have been indulged by his majeſty's extreme condeſcenſion.

Guſtavus III was born on the 24th of January 1746; in 1771 aſcended the throne on the demiſe of his father Adolphus Frederic; and in the courſe of the following year effected the revolution which conſiderably extended the regal authority. By his queen, Sophia Magdalena, daughter of Frederic V. late king of Denmark; he has iſſue Guſtavus Adolphus, prince royal of Sweden, and Charles Guſtavus, ſince deceaſed. The other members of the royal family are the king's brothers, prince Charles duke of Sudermanland, who eſpouſed Hedwige princeſs of Lubec, prince Frederic Adolphus duke of Eaſt-Gothland, and a ſiſter, the princeſs Sophia Albertina.

The queen dowager, to whom we were preſented at her palace of Frederickſhof, is Louiſa Ulrica, ſiſter to Frederic the Second, king of Pruſſia; a princeſs who reſembled her brother, as well in countenance, as in thoſe eminent abilities which characterize the houſe of Brandenburgh. An unfortunate miſunderſtanding had for ſome time taken place between her and her ſon, the king of Sweden: it was chiefly occaſioned by the ambitious views of the queen-dowager, who, accuſtomed to rule the cabinet

with abſolute authority in the reign of her huſband, expected to retain the ſame influence over her ſon. But the monarch, who had emancipated himſelf from the ſhackles of an ariſtocracy, had too much ſpirit to be governed by a woman, and the diſappointment of her views drew from her frequent expoſtulations and bitter remonſtrances, which, joined to circumſtances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned, terminated at length in an open rupture *.

Agreeably to my uſual attention to tombs and monuments, I viſited the ſepulchres of the kings of Sweden, whoſe remains are interred in the church of Riddarholm. The firſt of theſe monarchs is Magnus Ladulas, ſon of Birger Jarl, who, having forced his brother to abdicate, aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1274, and died in 1290, with the character of a wiſe and prudent monarch; although he entailed on his kingdom a long ſeries of civil commotions, by dividing it into different fiefs, and beſtowing them upon his three ſons. His aſhes are covered by a tomb of ſtone, which ſtands before the altar; near it is the ſepulchre of Charles Canutſon, who was elected king when the Swedes firſt broke the union of Calmar. In his conteſt for the crown he found ſuch powerful rivals

* The queen dowager died at Stockholm in July, 1782.

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in the kings of Denmark, that, from the time of his elevation to his death, Sweden was rent into two violent parties, which, as they alternately prevailed, Charles was one moment a king, and the next an exile; and his depoſitions and reſtorations were ſo frequent, that it remains to be queſtioned, whether, during the æra of his reign, he was not oftener a titular, than a real ſovereign. He was, however, in full poſſeſſion of the regal authority, when he died at Stockholm in 1470*.

The next ſovereign, though after a long interval, whoſe remains are depoſited in this church, is Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe eminent civil and military virtues raiſed Sweden to the higheſt degree of renown. He was one of thoſe few princes that never engaged in war but upon the juſteſt grounds. The greateſt commander of an age, which abounded in great generals, he ſtood up an advocate for liberty and toleration, againſt tyranny, perſecution, and bigotry, and laid the foundation of that equal balance of power, which was afterwards ſettled by the peace of Weſtphalia. In 1632 he finiſhed his glorious career at the battle of Lutzen, in the 38th year of his age: being amongſt the foremoſt of the combatants, he received a ball

* The ſucceeding ſovereigns of the Houſe of Vaſa, excepting Charles IX. are interred at Upſala. See Chapter 6.

in

in his left arm, but ſtill kept the field till another pierced him through the body. Many of the Swedes aſſert, and ſtill believe, that this great monarch was treacherouſly killed by the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, who fought by his ſide. The proofs, however, advanced in favour of this aſſertion, are only vague conjectures and uncertain traditions; and no ſubſtantial evidence has been ever produced which might tend to criminate the duke. It is more probable, indeed, that a general, who was remarkable for his courage, and who raſhly expoſed his perſon on all occaſions, ſhould receive his death from the enemy, than from one of his own aſſociates; unleſs the contrary could be eſtabliſhed upon the moſt undoubted facts.

A few years ago, prince Henry of Pruſſia deſcended into the vault, and opened the coffin which contains the remains of Guſtavus. A Swediſh nobleman, who accompanied the prince, aſſured me, that the body was in a ſtate of complete preſervation; the countenance ſtill retained the moſt perfect reſemblance to his pictures and coins; the whiſkers and ſhort pointed beard, which he wore, according to the faſhion of the times, were diſtinctly viſible. A common obſerver is ſtruck with a reverential awe on beholding only the repreſentation of a deceaſed hero remarkable for his great virtues; what then muſt

muſt have been the ſenſations of prince Henry in contemplating the real remains of the great Guſtavus, whom he admires and emulates!

In Guſtavus Adolphus ended the male line of the Houſe of Vaſa: ſince his time all the monarchs of the female branch are interred in this church, excepting his daughter Chriſtina*, who exhibits a ſtriking example, that though it becomes all ſovereigns to protect the arts and ſciences, yet they deſerve cenſure if their literary purſuits interfere with the more neceſſary occupations of government. In Chriſtina we ſee a princeſs diſcrediting her great endowments by a vain parade and affectation of ſingularity; apoſtatizing to a religion which ſhe affected to ridicule and deſpiſe; while on the throne deſirous of a private ſtation, but when ſhe had attained it by a voluntary ſacrifice of her authority, inceſſantly repining, and anxious to recover, on the moſt humiliating conditions, that crown which ſhe had ſo capriciouſly reſigned.

Charles Guſtavus, in whoſe favour ſhe abdicated, and who is buried in a vault of the church, was ſon of Catharine, ſiſter of Guſtavus Adolphus, by Caſimir, prince palatine of the Rhine. His conduct towards Chriſtina was a maſter-piece of policy: he propoſed to eſpouſe her, yet hoped that ſhe would not accept his

* She was buried at Rome.

propoſals;

propoſals; openly remonſtrated againſt her abdication, yet ſecretly contrived to fortify her reſolutions, and appeared leaſt eager for the crown in the moment when he was moſt ambitious to wear it. Bred in the military ſchool of Germany, he inherited the warlike, rather than the civil virtues of his uncle Guſtavus Adolphus: he was one of thoſe great, but reſtleſs ſpirits, who eſteem war the ſole occupation worthy of a monarch, and who, while they are adding to their own laurels, diſregard the miſeries of their ſubjects. Under his adminiſtration, Sweden acquired a high degree of military renown; and nothing leſs than the appearance of the Engliſh and Dutch fleets in the Baltic could have ſtopped the progreſs of his arms, have ſaved Denmark, or again reduced the balance of the Northern powers to its proper equilibrium. Arreſted in the midſt of his career by a premature death, he expired at Gotheborg, on the 23d of February 1660, after a ſhort reign of only ſix years. "At his death," writes the hiſtorian of Denmark, "he was only ſix and thirty years of age, and the laſt years of his life were as agitated as the preceding part had been tranquil. When we contemplate all his actions during the ſhort period of his exiſtence; his talents for war, his activity, his boundleſs ambition, the reſpect and terror which he impreſſed equally

on

on his ſubjects, and his enemies, we muſt conſider his death as an event that could not but affect the intereſt of the greateſt part of Europe: and with reſpect to Sweden, to what a degree of glory and wretchedneſs would he not have carried her, if he had attained that period of life which nature generally grants to the greateſt part of mankind, but which Heaven, in its compaſſion, moſt commonly refuſes to conquerors. A reverſe of fortune, and the approach of death, fully expoſed to him the vanity of his ambitious deſigns. In recommending an immediate peace to his ſucceſſor, he afforded a ſtriking leſſon to other ſovereigns; and this perhaps is the moſt exemplary particular of his hiſtory in the conſideration of reaſon and humanity *."

His ſon and ſucceſſor Charles XI. whoſe remains are depoſited near thoſe of his father, has been reprobated by many foreign hiſtorians as an odious tyrant; but his character, if examined without prejudice, far from deſerving that imputation, will in many inſtances merit our reſpect and eſteem. An unfavourable idea of his deſpotic principles has been formed from his reſumption of many crown lands, which reduced ſeveral families to poverty, and from his mode of liquidating the public debts, by raiſing the

* Mallet, Hiſtoire de Dannemarc, Tom. III. p. 432.

nominal

nominal worth of the coin without increaſing its real value. Although it cannot be denied that ſome of theſe meaſures were oppreſſive and violent; yet when we conſider the exhauſted ſtate of the finances derived from the boundleſs profuſion of Chriſtina*, the ruinous wars of Charles Guſtavus, and the diſorders of a long minority, we cannot but aſſent to the opinion of the moſt unprejudiced Swedes, that, though the reform introduced by Charles was in ſome inſtances prejudicial to individuals, yet on the whole it was ſalutary to the country; and nothing leſs than the moſt violent meaſures could have extricated his ſubjects from the exhauſted ſtate to which they were reduced. In one point of view Charles merited and gained the love of his people: notwithſtanding his natural ardour for military glory, he almoſt invariably perſiſted in pacific meaſures†, and while he preſerved his own

* The principal nobles, during the minority of Charles XI. took advantage of a weak government to appropriate the few crown lands which Chriſtina had not alienated.

† "His peaceable conduct may perhaps more juſtly be aſcribed to the ſtate of his affairs, than his own nature, which more powerfully inclines him to the fatigue of a camp, than the eaſe of a court; and ſuits better with a martial familiarity, than the ſhews of grandeur, and the ſolemnities of ſtate." Biſhop Robinſon's Account of Sweden.

"His majeſty's," ſays Robinſon, "moſt diligent inſpection into all

own country from the horrors of war, mediated the peace of Europe.

To Charles XI. may be aſcribed, what Boileau falſely attributed to Louis XIV. that he was his own miniſter;—

" Et qui ſeul, ſans miniſtre, à l'exemple des dieux,
Soutiens tout par Toi-meme, & vois tout par tes yeux*."

Charles was chaſte, temperate, œconomical, vigilant, and active; a patron of letters; ſevere, yet not implacable; prone to anger, but eaſily ſoftened. If we conſider the interior adminiſtration of affairs, he was one of the wiſeſt monarchs who ever filled the throne of this kingdom. To him Sweden is indebted for many excellent regulations which ſtill ſubſiſt. In a word, he was what Philip of Macedon was to Alexander, the precurſor of his ſon's greatneſs, and the founder of his victories: for without the army which he diſciplined and improved, and the treaſure which he collected, Charles XII. could never have withſtood the combined forces of all the Northern powers; nor have puſhed

all the affairs of his kingdom, beſides that it makes all his miniſters more circumſpect, hath gained him a great ſtock of experience. The ſmalleſt matters are not below his notice; and nothing of any moment is concluded before he hath been conſulted: this is the employment of all his time, ſcarce any hour of the day paſſing from five in the morning, when he conſtantly riſes, in which buſineſs of one nature or other is not before him."

* Boileau, Diſcours au Roi.

his

his conqueſts with that celerity which aſtoniſhed and confounded Europe. Charles XI. was born on the 25th of November 1655, and died on the 24th of April 1697, aged 42; lamenting, it is ſaid, upon his death bed, as the only reproach to his memory, the natural violence of his temper *, which he had not ſufficiently corrected.

The tomb of Charles XII. is a raiſed ſepulchre of dark marble, with no other inſcription than his name; over it are laid in caſt bronze a club and lion's ſkin, which mark more forcibly than any words—

> ———" his unconquerable will
> And courage never to ſubmit or yield †."

It is needleſs to dwell on a character ſo well known, as that of Charles XII. whoſe ambition was madneſs, and whoſe valour was ferocity. I ſhall, therefore, confine myſelf to one anecdote atteſted by the moſt reſpectable authority ‡.

Among many converſations with his friend count Poniatowſki, the latter recollected one, in which Charles, after various reflections on his brilliant ſucceſſes, which he modeſtly attributed rather to his good fortune than to his

* Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, Vol. I. p. 147.

† Milton.

‡ I had the honour of receiving this anecdote from the king of Poland, who had it from his father count Poniatowſki.

conduct,

conduct, expreſſed an intention of marrying, and planned for himſelf a life of tranquillity in his own kingdom; when he would pay greater attention to the interior adminiſtration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real intereſt of his ſubjects. This anecdote will ſhow, that even his ſavage ſpirit, which ſeemed to breathe nothing but war, was not always inſenſible to more peaceful comforts, and to the pleaſing proſpect of domeſtic happineſs. Whether this project was merely an idea of the moment, or ſeriouſly intended to be carried into execution, cannot now be aſcertained; but he certainly had removed its accompliſhment to a diſtant period. For, at the time of his ſudden death, he was expecting with impatience the concluſion of a treaty with Peter the Great; not to reſtore peace to his diſtracted country, but, in alliance with Ruſſia and Spain, to depoſe the king of Poland, to ſeat the pretender on the throne of Great Britain, and to re-kindle a general war in Europe. Charles XII. was killed at the ſiege of Fredericſhall on the 30th of November 1718, in the 36th year of his age; and it remains to this day uncertain whether he was ſhot by a ball from the enemy's batteries, or fell by the hands of an aſſaſſin*.

* See the next chapter.

The remaining ſovereigns who lie interred in this church, are Ulrica Eleonora, ſiſter of Charles XII. who aſcended the throne of Sweden only to reſign it to her huſband Frederic I.; that monarch, and the late king Adolphus Frederic; mere pageants of royalty, who wielded a ſceptre without power, and whoſe hiſtory contains little more than the æra of their ſucceſſion, and the time of their death.

Beſide the ſovereigns of Sweden, this church contains the aſhes of Baner, a general, who no leſs deſerves mention than the moſt illuſtrious monarch, if we eſtimate his deſerts by the ſervice which he rendered to his country.

John Baner, of an illuſtrious family, was born in 1601, and, receiving an excellent education, made ſo great proficiency in literature, that Guſtavus Adolphus uſed to call him his learned general. Whilſt a boy, he attracted by his magnanimity the notice of that monarch, who pronounced him formed for great events, and placed him in the army; he ſoon ſignalized himſelf in ſo particular a manner, that, under twenty years of age, he was employed in many critical enterprizes, which required no leſs dexterity than bravery. After the death of Guſtavus, he ſupported, as commander in chief, the luſtre of the Swediſh arms by a ſeries of victories, which raiſed his military character as high

as that of any general of the age. He ſuſtained this reputation undiminiſhed until his death, at Halberſtadt, on the 10th of May 1641, in the 40th year of his age. Baner was not inſenſible of the glory which he had acquired by his actions; but uſually ſpoke of them with great modeſty. He was accuſtomed to ſay, that he never formed an expedition, nor hazarded an action, without the moſt reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. He was equally feared and beloved by the ſoldiers, and always inſpired them with unbounded confidence. At the head of his troops he acted ſolely from himſelf, and without dependence, and would rather have reſigned the command, than have been directed in his military operations by the orders of the cabinet. "Why do ye think," he would ſay to his confidents, "that Gallas and Picolomini cannot be ſucceſsful againſt me, but becauſe they dare not act without the conſent of the Imperial miniſtry." He had the abſolute diſpoſal of all commiſſions, and eſtabliſhed a regular order of promotion: he was humane to the vanquiſhed enemy, cautious in not wantonly expoſing his troops to action, and he blamed thoſe generals who in ſieges ſacrifice the lives of their men to raiſe their own military character. But though thus ſparing of his ſoldiers' blood, he was no leſs liberal of his own; being himſelf the

braveſt perſon in his army, and too frequently ſeeking danger with a degree of raſhneſs ſcarcely pardonable in a general, but which he inherited from his maſter in the art of war, the great Guſtavus.

In our viſits to the Swediſh nobility, we found the ſame politeneſs and hoſpitality as among the Poles and Ruſſians, although much leſs magnificence and expence in their houſes, retinue, and entertainments, which ariſes from a circumſtance that muſt give pleaſure to every friend of humanity. The poſſeſſion of land not being in this country, as in Poland and Ruſſia, appropriated to any particular deſcription of men, property is more equally diffuſed, and ſuch vaſt accumulations of wealth or extent of domains do not center in the hands of a few grandees.

During our continuance at Stockholm, one day excepted, in which it ſnowed, we enjoyed as fine ſpring weather as ever I experienced in England. This favourable ſtate of the atmoſphere is exceedingly uncommon at ſo early a ſeaſon in this Northern climate*, where the ſnow frequently remains on the ground until the month of April; it was to us peculiarly agreeable, as it enabled us to make a few excurſions into the adjacent

* Stockholm is ſituated in 59 degrees 20 minutes of northern latitude.

country

country, which, although in many parts deſolate and barren, is always rudely romantic, and exhibits, amid a magnificent aſſemblage of rocks, lakes, and foreſt, agreeable ſpots of corn and paſture, numerous villages, and farm-houſes.

The Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm owes its inſtitution to ſix perſons of diſtinguiſhed learning, among whom was the celebrated Linnæus: they firſt met on the 2d of June 1739, formed a private ſociety, in which ſome diſſertations were read; and in the latter end of the ſame year their firſt publication made its appearance. As the meetings continued and the members encreaſed, the ſociety attracted the notice of Adolphus Frederic; and was, on the 31ſt of March 1741, incorporated under the name of the Royal Swediſh Academy. Not receiving any penſion from the crown, it is only under the protection of the king, being directed, like our Royal Society, by its own members. It has now a large fund, which has chiefly ariſen from legacies and other donations; but a profeſſor of experimental philoſophy, and two ſecretaries, are the only perſons who receive ſalaries. Each member reſident at Stockholm becomes preſident by rotation, and continues in office during three months. There are two ſpecies of members, home and foreign; the election of the former is held in April, and of the

latter in July: no money is paid at the time of admiſſion. The diſſertations read at each meeting are collected and publiſhed four times a year; they are written in the Swediſh language, and printed in octavo, and the annual publications make a volume. The firſt forty volumes, which were finiſhed in 1779, are called the Old Tranſactions; for in the following year the title was changed into that of New Tranſactions. The king is ſometimes preſent at the ordinary meetings, particularly at the annual aſſembly in April for the election of members. Any perſon who ſends a treatiſe worthy of being printed, receives the tranſactions for that quarter *gratis*, and a ſilver medal; which is not eſteemed for its value, being worth only three ſhillings, but for its rarity and the honour conferred by it. All papers relating to agriculture are put forth ſeparately under the title of *Oeconomica acta*, of which ſeveral volumes have been already publiſhed. Annual premiums, in money and gold medals, principally for the encouragement of agriculture and inland trade, are alſo diſtributed by the Academy. The fund for theſe prizes is ſupplied from private donations.

Sweden contains the three univerſities of Upſala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve ſeminaries for the education of youth, called *Gymnaſia*, of which ſix were founded by Chriſtina. In every large

large town there is alſo a ſchool maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue to the age of eleven, when they are ſent to the *Gymnaſia*, and from thence, at ſixteen, to one of the univerſities. In the *Gymnaſia*, and many of the greater ſchools, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught. The biſhops inſpect the ſeminaries and ſchools of their reſpective dioceſes, in which they are bound to reſide.

Before my departure from Stockholm, I was introduced to Mr. Oehrling, a Swede born at Arieplog, a ſmall village of Lapland; he had received his education in the univerſity of Upſala, and is a perſon of conſiderable knowledge. He was at that time employed in compiling a Lapland, Swediſh, and Latin Dictionary, which was publiſhed at Stockholm in 1780; a work highly uſeful, and extremely curious to all perſons verſed in the ſtudy of languages*. Mr. Oehrling ſpoke the Latin and French tongues with great fluency; and I received from him the following information relative to Lapland and its inhabitants.

The Laplanders call themſelves Salme-Same,

* Lexicon Lapponicum cum Interpretatione Vocabulorum Sueco-Latina et Indice Suecano Lapponico, illuſtratum Præfatione Latino-Suecana Johannis Ihre, nec non auctum Grammatica Lapponica a Dom. Erico Lindahl, et Johanne Oehrling.

and Samen-Almatjeh. Their country they denominate Same-Landa or Same-aednam; the Swedes ſtyle it Lapland or Lappmarken, and the inhabitants Lappar. The natives of thoſe diſtricts under the dominion of Sweden and Denmark are Lutherans; while many of thoſe who are ſubjects to Ruſſia are ſtill Pagans. Swediſh Lapland contains about eight churches, which in ſome parts lie at ſo great a diſtance from each other, that a native is frequently obliged to travel three days to attend divine ſervice. Lapland is a vaſt region, but in general thinly peopled. Near the Gulf the country is compoſed chiefly of granite rock, or ſtrewed with detached maſſes of that ſtone. The whole face of the inland is overſpread with immenſe tracts of foreſt, conſiſting chiefly of firs, larch, and ſmall beech, interſperſed with numerous lakes, which abound with fiſh. It yields paſture, and affords ſome corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat, and is capable of producing a greater quantity, if more of the natives could be induced to leave their wandering life, and cultivate the ground. The winter is long and tedious, laſting nearly nine months; the ſnow frequently begins to fall towards the latter end of Auguſt, and remains on the ground till the middle of May. The people are partly ſettled, and partly wild and roving: the latter live in

tents

tents made with coarſe cloth; the former are fixed in ſmall villages near the lakes, and chiefly follow fiſhing. They build their cottages ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cone, by placing a circle of large trees or poles aſlant in the earth, and cloſe to each other, ſo that the tops meet, and form a ſmall vent for the iſſue of the ſmoke: they cover the ground within with branches of trees. In ſummer their clothes are made of coarſe cloth; in winter of the ſkins of rein-deer*. In ſpring

* In the Flora Lapponica, Linnæus ſays, "Perhaps the curious reader will wonder how the people in Lapland, during the terrible cold that reigns there in winter, can preſerve their lives; ſince almoſt all birds and even ſome wild beaſts, deſert it at that time. The Laplander, not only in the day, but through the whole winter nights, is obliged to wander about in the woods with his herds of rein-deer; for the rein-deer never come under cover, nor eat any kind of fodder but a particular kind of *liverwort*. On this account the herdſmen are under a neceſſity of living continually in the woods, in order to take care of their cattle, leſt they ſhould be devoured by wild beaſts. The Laplander eaſily does without more light, as the ſnow reflects the rays that come from the ſtars, and as the *Aurora Borealis* illuminates the air every night with a great variety of figures. No part of our body is more eaſily deſtroyed by cold than the extremities of the limbs, which are moſt remote from the ſun of this microcoſm, the heart. The kibes that happen to our hands and feet, ſo common in the northern parts of Sweden, prove this. In Lapland you will never ſee ſuch a thing, although, were we to judge by the ſituation of the country, we ſhould imagine juſt the contrary; eſpecially as the people wear no ſtockings, as we do, not only ſingle, but double and triple. The Laplander guards himſelf againſt the cold in the following manner:—he wears breeches made of rein-deer ſkins with the hair on, reaching down

to

ſpring their food conſiſts principally of the eggs of water-fowl, which are extremely plentiful; in ſummer and autumn, of the birds themſelves, and of various others of the partridge tribe*; and

to his heels; and ſhoes made of the ſame materials, the hairy part turned outwards. He puts into his ſhoes *ſlender-eared broad-leaved cyperus graſs*, *carex veſicaria*, *Spec. Pl.* (or the Bladder Carex), that is cut in ſummer and dried. This he firſt combs, and rubs in his hands, and then places it in ſuch manner, that it not only covers his feet quite round, but his legs alſo; and being thus guarded, he is quite ſecured againſt the intenſe cold. With this graſs they ſtuff their gloves likewiſe, in order to preſerve their hands. As this graſs keeps off the cold in winter, ſo in ſummer it hinders the feet from ſweating, and at the ſame time preſerves them from being annoyed by ſtriking againſt ſtones, &c. for their ſhoes are very thin, being made, not of tanned leather, but the raw hide." Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 137, 138.

* "About autumn, when the lakes of Lapland begin to freeze, the water-fowl, which are found there in great abundance, migrate towards the South; and upon the firſt opening of the ſpring, they return in large flocks to their prior habitations, where they find a plentiful ſubſiſtence from the grubs of the gnats. Theſe grubs too ſerve for the food of the tetraones, or partridge tribe, thouſands whereof, and even myriads, are daily taken, and ſent to Stockholm. Theſe birds are caught in ſuch large quantities by the Laplanders, as to ſupply them with their ordinary proviſion in autumn, as the eggs of the water-fowl are their ſupport in ſpring."

Holberg.

"Thoſe who have not ſeen it, will ſcarce believe what numbers of water-fowl are to be met with upon this river, to which the lake gives its name; and my watermen would every now and then put in to ſhore, to look for the eggs of wild ducks and geeſe amongſt the reeds, which grow here and there upon the river ſide, or in the little iſlands which in ſeveral places are formed in the middle of the river; and that after the manner of the Laplanders, who

get

and in winter of the milk and fleſh of the rein-deer, and dried fiſh; bread, which till very lately was totally unknown to them, now makes a part of their uſual diet. In winter, they journey in ſmall ſledges, made in the form of boats, drawn by rein-deer. Thoſe animals will travel almoſt the whole day without food, and only occaſionally moiſten their mouths with ſnow; they do not, however, draw the ſledge with ſuch ſwiftneſs as is generally imagined; their common pace being at the rate of about four miles in the hour*. In ſummer they feed on graſſes and alpine

get vaſt quantities of theſe eggs, and of the wild fowl too, when in ſeaſon, as the old ones in winter, and the goſlings and young ducks in ſummer, which they have ſeveral ways of killing: but the moſt common, and what they are the moſt expert at, is the ſhooting them with their arrows, as they do their land ones; and indeed the Laplanders are ſuch excellent archers, and their prey is ſo very plenty, that ſhould one of them go out a ſhooting for two hours, and not bring home a load of game, he would certainly conclude that ſome enchanter, who bore him a grudge, had out of mere ſpite ſpoiled his ſport." Motraye's Travels, Vol. II. p. 301.

* "Moſt of the rein deer uſed for draught are caſtrated when very young, and are larger and fatter than the bucks: In the winter the Laplanders drive their caſtrated deer in their ſledges; they harneſs them by a rope faſtened to a collar, and carried between their legs; and direct them by means of a bridle faſtened to their horns. Each deer can draw the weight of one perſon, but rarely more. If he is preſſed, he will travel ten or twelve Swediſh miles (70 or 84 Engliſh miles) but by ſuch hard driving is generally deſtroyed. It, however, frequently happens, that he will perſevere in his journey 50 miles without intermiſſion, and without taking any refreſhment.

pine plants, in winter upon the *lichen rangiferinus**, or rein-deer lichen, and its varieties, which are ſo abundant in many parts as almoſt totally to cover the ground for the ſpace of ſeveral miles; and which the ſagacious animal diſcovers under the ſnow by the peculiar acuteneſs of its ſmell.

I was further informed by Mr. Oehrling, that the Laplanders, before their recent converſion to Chriſtianity, poſſeſſed no books or manuſcripts, though they knew many traditional hiſtories and ſongs of antient heroes and princes, who once reigned over them; but involved in great uncertainty, and mixed with fabulous accounts. They have now a tranſlation of the New Teſtament, and many of the natives are able to read and write. On my queſtioning him about the Lapland tongue, he anſwered with ſome diffidence, "that though he imagined we

freſhment. He is weak in the back, being fatigued with the weight even of a ſaddle; for which reaſon the Laplanders, whenever they travel in ſummer, and ſledges cannot be uſed, lay acroſs the animal's back a pole, upon which they faſten a ſmall burden." See Holberg's Account of the Cervus Tarandus in Amœnit. Academ. Vol. I. p. 169.

* For the œconomical and ſcientific deſcription of this Lichen, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's Flora Scotica, Vol. II. p. 877. Hagen's Tentamen Hiſtoiræ Lichenum, P. cxxvi. and particularly to Linnæi Flora Lapponica, P. 332; from whoſe accurate and comprehenſive account ſubſequent authors have principally derived their information.

are

are in general too apt to form a haſty opinion of two languages being derived from the ſame ſtock, becauſe a few words in both are ſimilar, when perhaps the idiom and conſtruction are totally oppoſite; nevertheleſs, there appeared to him ſufficient reaſons for concluding that the Finniſh and Lapland tongues were dialects only of one and the ſame original." But what was moſt remarkable, he was of opinion that the Lapland idiom had an undoubted affinity with the Hungarian. Sainovits, a learned Jeſuit, and native of Hungary, who had accompanied the celebrated aſtronomer, Father Hell, into Lapland, to obſerve the Tranſit of Venus, has demonſtrated that the Hungarian and Lapland idioms are the ſame*; and Mr. Oehrling himſelf has likewiſe publiſhed a treatiſe on the ſame ſubject†. I regretted that time would not permit the learned Swede to enter into a detail of the reaſons which induced him to adopt this hypotheſis; but we may conclude, that ſtrong probability lies on this ſide of the queſtion, when we find a native of Hungary, and a Swede born in Lapland, both men of letters, and both well verſed in the two dialects, affirming it

* Johannis Sainovits, &c. Demonſtratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem eſſe.

† Diſſertatio Academica de convenientiâ Linguæ Hungaricæ cum Lapponica.

from

from their own conviction, without intercourſe or colluſion. Having both treatiſes in my poſſeſſion, which are extremely rare, I ſhall compriſe, in a ſhort compaſs, the arguments which ſeem to prove the ſimilarity of the two languages.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that a Laplander entering Hungary, or an Hungarian travelling into Lapland, would be immediately underſtood by the natives; for though the inhabitants of theſe two countries ſhould be unqueſtionably allowed to be branches from the ſame ſtock *; yet, as the ſeparation from that original took place at a time when they had no alphabet, it muſt follow, from the gradual change of all languages, by the adoption of words from the neighbouring nations, that each people could never have retained ſeparately *all* the primitive characteriſtics of their original tongue. It is ſufficient, if in the general mode of pronunciation, in the ſimilarity of many words, and in the grammatical ſtructure of the phraſes, both nations retain a ſtrong degree of reſemblance; and this appears to be the caſe in the Hungarian and Lapland idioms.

* No perſon in the leaſt converſant in the ſtudy of languages preſumes to doubt that the Engliſh, German, Dutch, Swediſh, and Daniſh are all derived from the antient Gothic or Teutonic, and yet theſe different nations do not underſtand each other.

In

In the firſt place, the pronunciation of the Lapland tongue is ſo extremely peculiar and difficult, that a Swede or Dane, unleſs educated from their infancy in the country, can never attain it; whereas Sainovits was able to catch the genuine accent without the leaſt difficulty, although, before his arrival, he had no acquaintance with their language; the articulation in many reſpects being ſo perfectly familiar to him, that, to uſe his own expreſſion, "while he heard them converſing, he thought he was in his own country."

The next proof of their affinity reſts on the ſimilarity of particular words plainly proceeding from the ſame ſtock. Of theſe Sainovits has given a vocabulary, compriſing 150 common to both, of undoubted reſemblance. As theſe expreſſions fell under his obſervation during a ſhort reſidence in the country, it is probable that, if he continued there a longer time, he would have diſcovered many more. The two idioms are further demonſtrated to be the ſame, from a ſurprizing agreement in the declenſion of nouns, in the compariſon of adjectives, in a peculiar uſe of numerals, pronouns, affixes, ſuffixes, and prepoſitions, in the mode of conjugating verbs, and in the auxiliary verbs; for in all theſe circumſtances the two people differ as much from the neighbouring nations

as they are analogous to each other: "So that we may venture to conclude," adds Oehrling, "that the German does not approach nearer to the Swediſh, or the Chaldean to the Hebrew, than the Lapland to the Hungarian."

From theſe premiſes the ingenious author concludes, "that the Laplanders are undoubtedly deſcended from the Huns; although the preciſe time in which they ſeparated from the other branches of that numerous tribe cannot be aſcertained." He ventures, however, to conjecture, that ſome of thoſe people penetrated into theſe regions long before the Huns, under Attilà and his ſucceſſors, occupied Pannonia, ſince called from them Hungary; that they probably inhabited the ſouthern parts of Sweden, and being driven towards the north by the Goths under Oden, retired to the almoſt impervious mountains and inclement cold of Lapland. Being ſettled in thoſe parts, their language, by a perpetual intercourſe with the Swedes and Norwegians, became gradually intermixed with foreign words, and ſplit into different dialects; ſtill retaining, however, evident traces of the original ſpoken by the Huns *.

During

* The Huns, before they penetrated in Hungary, inhabited the inland parts of Siberia, and from thoſe quarters they probably paſſed through European Ruſſia, Livonia, Eſthonia, Finland, and Sweden.

During my firſt expedition, I was prevented by the earlineſs of the ſeaſon, and the difficulty of croſſing the lake Maeler, from viſiting the palace of Drotningholm; but in my ſecond tour I had ſeveral opportunities of ſatisfying my curioſity.

This palace, the favourite reſidence of the king, is ſituated on the iſland of Drotningholm, or Queen's Iſland, in the lake Maeler, about ten Engliſh miles from Stockholm. The paſſage acroſs the lake to the iſland is near a mile. It was originally built by Hedwige Eleonora, queen of Charles the Tenth; but has been greatly improved and enlarged by ſucceeding ſovereigns, and particularly by the preſent king, who has added a theatre, and ſeveral buildings. The apartments are more comfortable than magnificent. The king's private library contains an uſeful collection of modern books. A cabinet of natural hiſtory adjoining to the library is ſmall, but remarkable as having been arranged and deſcribed by Linnæus.

The ſtate apartments contain paintings of the battles and coronation of Charles the Eleventh, and the portraits of the principal generals who

den. In Livonia and Eſthonia, a language ſimilar to the Finniſh ſtill exiſts; as well as, among ſeveral tribes of Siberia, an idiom which has great affinity with the Hungarian, ſtill prevails.

ſerved under Charles the Twelfth, by Ehrenſwald.

The garden* is chiefly laid out in ſtraight walks, excepting a ſmall part, which is called the Engliſh garden, and was forming in a fanciful imitation of our ſtyle.

In the midſt of the garden is a ſpot called Canton, which has been too pompouſly deſcribed by many travellers. It receives that denomination from ſeveral buildings in the Chineſe taſte, diſpoſed in a ſemicircular form, and erected by Adolphus Frederic; they contain ſeveral large Chineſe figures, and vaſes of valuable porcelain. In theſe apartments his majeſty invites ſelect parties to dinner and ſupper, when he lays aſide his etiquette.

On the 8th we paſſed the whole day at Drotningholm, according to the tedious forms of Swediſh etiquette, to which the king is ſo much

* The king has diſplayed a better taſte in the gardens of his villa at Haga, which have been laid out under his own direction in a ſtyle more reſembling Engliſh pleaſure grounds, than any which fell under my obſervation abroad. The walks are carried by the ſide of a lake, and through the woods, by a gradual and gently-bending outline.

Haga, though a wooden building, is one of the king's moſt favoured villas, endeared to him as the place where he conſulted with his particular friends on the beſt means for effecting the revolution of 1772, and from which he bore the title of Count de Haga, during his travels.

attached.

attached. We ſet off full-dreſſed from Stockholm at eleven; and, as the weather was ſhowery, the embarkation in the foreign miniſter's barge was rather diſagreeable. We found the drawing room crouded with company to congratulate the king on his late return from his travels. It was gala day, and we ſaw the court, in all its ſplendor. The gala dreſs, for both men and women, is blue ſilk and ſattin, with white lining and ornaments: to a ſtranger the company appeared as if habited for a maſquerade.

After church the king made his appearance, and he wore a fancy dreſs of purpliſh ſilk, richly embroidered with gold; for while he has limited his ſubjects to particular colours, he varies his own dreſs with all the tints of the rainbow. On being preſented, his majeſty did me the honour to converſe with me in the moſt gracious manner; he recollected having ſeen me before in Sweden; mentioned the docks of Carlſcrona, and aſked me if I had ſeen the dock of Toulon; adding, "It is not for me to boaſt, but in my eſtimation the works of Toulon are trifling in compariſon with thoſe of Carlſcrona. We do not boaſt of pictures and ſtatues, but we can ſhew the works of Trolhætta, Carlſcrona, and Sveaborg."

Soon after he repaired to a large ſaloon, dined

in public, with the queen and royal family, and converſed with the foreign miniſters, who ſurrounded his chair. At two he roſe from table, and we dined with the great marſhal, who keeps a public table on theſe occaſions.

In the afternoon we were preſented to the prince royal *, who, though ſcarcely ſix years old, went through the forms of a drawing-room with wonderful eaſe and addreſs for ſo young a perſon. We afterwards repaired to the Swediſh opera of Iphigenia in Aulis, tranſlated from the French, and the words adapted to Gluck's muſic. The theatre is ſmall but neat; the ſtage was well filled, and the piece well performed. At the concluſion of the opera we embarked in a covered barge, croſſed the water in the rain, got into our carriage, and arrived at Stockholm about midnight. Such is the neceſſary etiquette

* Now Guſtavus Adolphus the Second. He ſucceeded to the crown on the death of his father, who was mortally wounded with a piſtol at a maſquerade on the 15th of March 1792, by Ankarſtroem, an enſign of the guards, and died on the 29th. Ankarſtroem was inſtigated to this attempt by a diſaffected party of nobles, of whom the principal leaders were Counts Horn and Ribbing, Baron Pecklin and Colonel Liliehorn. During the interval preceding his death, in which he ſuffered the moſt excrutiating tortures, the king diſplayed great calmneſs of mind and an undaunted ſpirit; he ſettled a plan of government during the minority of his ſon, and gave a proof of ſingular humanity, by ordering that none of the conſpirators, except the aſſaſſin, ſhould be put to death.

quette of the Swediſh court; but the king contrives as much as poſſible to relieve the *ennui* of the day, by the affability of his manners, and the vivacity of his converſation.

The preſent king has paid great attention to the literature and language of his native country. He has conſtructed, at a conſiderable expence, an opera-houſe in Stockholm, for the repreſentation of operas in the Swediſh language. The building is ſmall, but well arranged, and will contain eight hundred ſpectators; the ornaments, ſcenes, and decorations, are extremely rich and elegant. The troop, conſidering the recency of the eſtabliſhment, will no doubt greatly improve, as the king loves and encourages theatrical repreſentations, and has compoſed ſeveral pieces for the ſtage.

The polite arts have made their way into Sweden, and flouriſh under the king's royal patronage. Among the living artiſts who do honour to their country, Sergell, a ſtatuary, muſt be mentioned, who paſſed ſome time at Rome at the king's expence, and is now ſettled at Stockholm. His work-ſhop contained ſeveral ſtatues and models, which prove his ſkill in ſeizing the ſpirit of the antique. I particularly admired a moſt elegant Cupid and Pſyche; Otriades, in the agonies of death engraving upon his buckler, with the point of his lance, Δις Τροπαια

"To the God of Victory," his countenance is finely expreſſive of pain overcome by courage; and a ſtatue of the prince royal entwining a wreath of laurel round the buſt of Guſtavus Adolphus.

Sergell is likewiſe employed in ſuperintending and finiſhing the equeſtrian ſtatue of Guſtavus Adolphus in bronze, after the deſign of Archeveque, a celebrated French ſtatuary, ſince dead. It is of a coloſſal ſize*, and repreſents this favourite hero of Sweden, in complete armour, excepting his head, which is encircled with laurel; his right hand holds a truncheon pointing downwards. The hero is gracefully ſeated on the horſe, and the animal has great ſpirit. Sergell has added to the original deſign the figures of Hiſtory, pointing to an inſcription on the pedeſtal, and of Axel Oxenſtiern, the celebrated chancellor, who was no leſs pre-eminent in the cabinet than Guſtavus Adolphus in the field. He informed me, that the

* The following are the dimenſions:—height, from the bottom of the pedeſtal to the top of the hero's head, forty feet; from the bottom of the horſe's feet to the top of the hero's head, eighteen feet; height of the hero, if ſtanding, fourteen feet; length of the horſe, from the head to the crupper, ten feet. Figure of Oxenſtiern nine feet. This ſtatue was erected in 1790, in the north ſquare, on a pedeſtal of granite, with the medallions of his five principal generals; Barrier, Torſtenſon, de la Gardie, and the Duke of Saxe Weymar. Voyage de deux François, Tom. 2.

original

original plan of Archeveque was to repreſent a Victory on horſeback, preceding and crowning Guſtavus Adolphus on horſeback; a ſublime idea, bold, and perfectly new for a ſtatue. The deſign was at firſt accepted by the ſtates, but afterwards relinquiſhed, becauſe it was thought impoſſible by the perſon employed to caſt it. Sergell expatiated with great enthuſiaſm on the boldneſs and ſublimity of this plan, and ſeemed by no means to conſider it as impracticable. Sergell has been lately employed by the king in executing a monument to the memory of Des Cartes, which is erected in one of the churches; above is the medallion of Des Cartes, and beneath an angel taking a veil from the globe, and illuminating it with a torch; a ſublime idea, ſimply expreſſing the effect of philoſophy in enlightening the human race.

The royal academy of painting and ſculpture, contains a fine collection of caſts from the antique ſtatues at Rome; theſe were the firſt impreſſions of the only moulds ever permitted to be taken. Louis the Fourteenth obtained that permiſſion from the pope, and ſent to Charles the Eleventh theſe caſts, which are therefore uniques in their kind. They were preſented by Adolphus Frederic to the academy of painting and ſculpture, which he inſtituted *.

* The academy alſo contains a few antiques, particularly the ſtatue of Endymion, purchaſed by Guſtavus the Third at Rome, 1784, for 2000 ducats.

CHAP. 3.

Arſenal of Stockholm.—Clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was killed at the ſiege of Frederickſhall.—Inquiry into the circumſtances of his death.

THE arſenal of Stockholm contains an immenſe number of ſtandards and trophies, taken chiefly from the Imperialiſts, Poles, Ruſſians, and Danes. Many of theſe ſtandards were ſupplied by Guſtavus Adolphus, Baner, Torſtenſon and Wrangel, by Charles Guſtavus, but principally by Charles XII. whoſe military atchievements proved the ruin of his country; nor could I avoid remarking, that while this collection proudly diſplayed the trophies of Narva, the Ruſſians poſſeſs Narva itſelf, with all Livonia, and other provinces diſmembered from Sweden.

Among other curioſities, I obſerved the ſkin of the horſe ſtuffed, which carried Guſtavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, where he received his death; a boat made by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, and taken by a Swediſh veſſel as it was conveying by ſea to Peterſburgh; but the clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was ſhot in the trenches before

before Frederickſhall, particularly attracted my attention. As various reports have been ſpread relative to his death, and as proofs of his aſſaſſination have been drawn from the ſtate of thoſe clothes, and particularly of his hat, I examined them with peculiar attention.

The coat is a plain blue uniform, with large braſs buttons, like that of a common ſoldier; the boots are thick and large; the gloves of buff leather, ſtiff-topped, and reaching almoſt to the elbow: the right-hand glove is conſiderably ſtained with blood, the left ſprinkled with a few drops; part of a buff belt, which he wore round his waiſt, is alſo bloody*. I mention theſe circumſtances, becauſe it renders probable what has been aſſerted, that, on receiving the ſhot, he inſtantly applied his right hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his ſword,

* This circumſtance has given riſe to an argument in ſupport of his being aſſaſſinated: for, ſay the advocates on this ſide of the queſtion, if, on receiving the ſhot, he inſtantly touched the wound, and then graſped his ſword, it ſeems to imply that he muſt have ſeen the perſon who diſcharged the piece at him, and put himſelf into an attitude of defence: and it is certain, from the account of Pilgren, who ſaw the body, that he had abſolutely drawn the ſword half out of the ſcabbard, and the hilt was ſo tightly graſped by the right hand as not to be removed without difficulty. But ſurely, if the king really ſaw the perſon who diſcharged the piece, and meant to defend himſelf, he would firſt have graſped the ſword before he received the ſhot: and if he firſt touched the wound, and then graſped the hilt of the ſword, it was a mere inſtantaneous and perhaps convulſive impulſe.

The

The hat bears the appearance of having been ſlightly grazed by the ball, in that part which immediately covered his temple. I was informed, by a perſon who had frequent opportunities of obſerving it, that the original mark was at firſt very indiſtinct, but from being handled and rent by thoſe who have continually examined it, has been conſiderably enlarged. As the ſhot, therefore, did not pierce through, but only grazed the hat, the ſize of the ball cannot be aſcertained from this circumſtance. It follows from this ſimple deſcription, that, from any appearance either in the clothes or hat, the ſlighteſt inference cannot be deduced in regard to the ſo much agitated queſtion, "whether Charles XII. fell by a ball from the Daniſh batteries, or by the hand of an aſſaſſin?" I ſhall ſubjoin to this account an inquiry into the particulars of his death; in the courſe of which ſome new lights may, perhaps, be thrown on this curious ſubject, and ſome anecdotes introduced, probably unknown to the Engliſh reader.

On the 30th of November 1718, Charles XII. viſited the trenches at the ſiege of Frederickſhall in Norway, advanced as far as a baſtion, which he mounted, and, leaning his arm on the parapet, ſeemed to examine the progreſs of the works. The Daniſh batteries were playing on the trenches, and continued a conſtant fire with great

great and ſmall ſhot, to which the king expoſed himſelf as uſual, without the leaſt caution; in that attitude he received a ball in his temple, fell on the parapet, and inſtantly expired. There were with him two French officers; Maigret, the engineer, who conducted the ſiege, and Siquier, his aid-de-camp. Behind, at ſome diſtance, were, amongſt others, count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches, count Poſſe, captain of the guards, and Culbert, an aid-de-camp. According to Voltaire*, the two Frenchmen, ſeeing the king fall, and hearing him utter at the ſame time a deep ſigh, approached and found him dead. Motraye† relates, that Maiget having ineffectually endeavoured to diſſuade his majeſty from remaining in ſo dangerous a place, and conſulted with Schwerin and Culbert, returned to draw him away by ſtratagem; finding him leaning on the parapet, he ſuppoſed him aſleep, but perceiving that he continued motionleſs, an alarm was given to the officers, who came with a light, and diſcerned that he was dead. Nordberg's account correſponds in general with that given by Motraye. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Si-

* Voltaire was probably informed of theſe circumſtances from Siquier himſelf. See Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 341.

† Voyages de Motraye, Vol. II. p. 396. Nordberg's Hiſt. de Charles XII. p. 358.

quier,

quier, who was devoted to the prince of Heſſe, took off the king's hat, covered the head with his own wig and hat, and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it to be tranſported to his quarters as that of an officer juſt killed. Siquier himſelf flew without delay to the prince of Heſſe, who was quartered at Torpum, about the diſtance of three quarters* of a mile. "The prince was at ſupper," writes a page who was preſent †, "with ſome generals and officers. Siquier, without being announced, approached and whiſpered the prince; the prince did the ſame to the perſon who ſat next to him, and the whiſper being circulated round the company in the ſame manner, the prince retired from table, and gave immediate orders for poſt-horſes. "I followed," adds the page, "the officers to the place where the king was killed. The prince ordered the generals and officers, who were preſent, to place the body in a litter prepared to convey it to the head-quarters. One-and-twenty ſoldiers ſtanding around with wax tapers in their hands, we obſerved, that the king, in the agonies of death, had drawn his ſword half out of the ſcabbard,

* Probably of a Swediſh mile, which is equal to about 6 and a half Engliſh miles.

† This account is taken from the narrative of Pilgren, a page to the prince of Heſſe, who was that day in waiting. See Von Karls XII. Tode and in Schloetzer's Briefewechſel, Vol. I. p. 230.

and

and that the hilt was ſo tightly graſped by the right hand, as not to be diſengaged without difficulty. The body being removed, the prince held a council with the officers, when it was determined to raiſe the ſiege, and diſpatch field-marſhal Duker to Sandſborg, in order to prevent any one from paſſing to the enemy, and ſpreading the report of the king's death: but this precaution was too late, as that very night a Swediſh lieutenant, accompanied by a drummer, went over the Glomma to the enemy, and acquainted them with the king's death."

From theſe circumſtances we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the king was aſſaſſinated, but rather that he received his wound from one of the Daniſh batteries. Let us then examine the reaſons which have induced many perſons to aſſert that he was killed by treachery, and that Frederic prince of Heſſe, who eſpouſed his youngeſt ſiſter Ulrica Eleonora, and was ſoon afterwards raiſed to the throne, was not unſuſpected of being concerned in his death.

The duke of Holſtein, ſon of Hedwige, eldeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. was the undoubted heir to the crown, and would, according to the opinion of his miniſter Baſſevitz, have ſucceeded, had he immediately ſhown himſelf to the troops.

"The duke was in the camp. Charles had brought him to the army in that ſevere cam-

paign, in order to form him to war. On the firſt news of the king's death, the young prince retired to his tent overwhelmed with affliction, and refuſed admittance even to the generals who were moſt attached to him. Duker conjured his favourite Roepſtorf, that he would perſuade him to appear before the troops, and offered to proclaim him on the ſpot. Roepſtorf gained admittance to his maſter, but ſoon returned with an anſwer, that he was too much affected to hold converſation with any one. If he will not act, ſays Duker, affairs muſt go as they can! This delay was the ſafety of the Swediſh liberty. For how would the nation have dared to propoſe the ſuppreſſion of abſolute authority, in oppoſition to a king who was proclaimed by the army, and already in poſſeſſion of all the prerogatives enjoyed by his predeceſſor*?"— Another† account informs us, "that ſeveral of the Swediſh generals tendered the crown to the duke, upon the condition of renouncing abſolute power; but he refuſed to be bound by any reſtrictions."

The conduct of the prince of Heſſe was far more politic. Having diſpoſed of the king's body, he iſſued immediate orders to arreſt ba-

* Memoires de Baſſevitz in Buſching, H. M. IX. p. 321.

† Schloetzer's Briefewechſel, Vol. I. p. 151.

ron

ron Gortz*, as if already in poſſeſſion of ſovereign authority, and diſpatched Siquier to his conſort Ulrica Eleonora at Stockholm. That princeſs, informed of her brother's death, ſummoned the ſenate, and agreeing to renounce all right to the crown by hereditary ſucceſſion, and

* The arreſt of Baron Gortz was attended with many curious circumſtances, which are related by Pilgren, who accompanied the officers that arreſted him; but the account is too long to be inſerted in this work. See Gortzen's Gefangenemmung in Schloetzer, Vol. I. p. 231 to 243.

The real cauſe of the Baron's impriſonment and execution was his attachment to the duke of Holſtein, which neither Frederic nor Ulrica Eleonora could forgive; to their revenge, and to the cabals of a party, he fell a ſacrifice. Poſterity, however, has done juſtice to the integrity of this great, but turbulent ſtateſman; and the preſent king of Sweden paid a tribute of praiſe to his memory, in a letter to his daughter, Madame D'Eyben. See Schloetzer Theil. XI. p. 109. " Madame la Baronne D'Eyben. La memoire de l'illuſtre et malheureux Baron de Gortz eſt trop reſpectée de moi, pour que je n'aye été très ſenſiblement touché d'apprendre, qu'il exiſtoit encore un de ces enfans, que la tirannie et l'injuſtice atroce de la princeſs Ulrique Eleonore, et de ceux qui preſidérent à la diéte de 1719, rendirent orphelins. Son ſang innocent a trop longtemps crié vengeance. La Suede a pendant 50 ans de malheurs, de devaſtations, et de troubles, paié cherement le tribut, que la colère divine a exigé pour le crime, commis contre un grand homme innocent, pour que je ne ſouhaite ardemment, en qualité de *premier citoyen de ma patrie*, reparer au nom de cette même patrie, l'injuſtice que nos ancétres ont commis. A ce titre, que je regarde comme le plus beau de tous ceux, que la Providence a bien voulu aſſembler ſur ma tête, s'ajoute encore celui de ma maiſon, pour laquelle il a été un ſacrifice. Vous devés donc bien juger, Madame, combien je ſuis porté de vous faire rendre la juſtice, que vous reclamés en qualité d'heritière et de fille de feu Baron de Gortz, &c. &c. ce 28 d. Octobre, 1773."

to

to ſubſcribe to the limitation of regal power, ſhe was ſoon afterwards elected queen, but reſigned, in 1721, the crown to her huſband.

The account of the king's death, publiſhed by order of the court ſoon after the event, enters into no details, but attributes it to a ball ſhot from a falconet*. Motraye affirms, that this relation was probably true, becauſe the wound was large enough to admit four fingers, Voltaire, who received his information from Siquier, aſſerts, that it was made by a ball of half a pound weight, and large enough to contain three fingers; and both agree, that from the violence of the ſhot the left eye was forced in, and the right diſlodged from the ſocket†. In contradiction, however, to theſe authorities, two perſons who ſaw the body, poſitively affirm, that the wound was too ſmall to be occaſioned by a ſhot from a falconet, or half falconet.

Count Liewen, in a converſation with Mr. Wraxall, thus expreſſed himſelf upon the ſubject:

"There are now very few men alive who can ſpeak with ſo much certainty as myſelf. I was in the camp before Frederickſhall, and

* A ball of a falconet uſually weighs one pound and one-eighth at leaſt.

† Large quatre doigts. Motraye.—Un trou dans lequel on pouvoit enfoncer trois doigts. Voltaire.—Un balle l'avoit atteint à la temple droite avec tante de violence, qu'elle étoits reſſortie au deſſus de la temple gauche. Nordberg.

had

had the honour to ſerve the king in quality of page on that night when he was killed. I have no doubt that he was aſſaſſinated.—The night was extremely dark, and it was almoſt an impoſſibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head at the diſtance, and on the ſpot where he ſtood. I ſaw the king's body, and am certain the wound in his temple was made by a piſtol-bullet. Who gave it, is unknown: Siker was ſuſpected, becauſe he was not with his majeſty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment after. Thoſe," added he, "who are uſed to military affairs, know the report and noiſe which a cannon-ball makes, but the report of the ſhot which deſtroyed the king was that of a piece cloſe at hand, and totally different. I do not believe the prince of Heſſe was concerned, or privy to it in any degree; but the belief that he was put to death by a private hand was general in the army at that time*."

The next evidence is captain Carlberg, who aſſiſted in conveying the body from the trenches: this officer died at Gotheborg about a month before I arrived there, and in repeated converſations with ſeveral Engliſh merchants, from whom I received the anecdote, conſtantly aſſerted that the wound was given by a muſket or piſtol. In anſwer to theſe aſſertions, may it not be aſked, Whether count Liewen and captain Carlberg had any opportunity of examining the wound with the attention neceſſary to form a deciſive opinion? and if they did, whether the ſize of gun-ſhot wounds does not exceedingly vary according to the velocity of the ball, and the part which it ſtrikes?

But ſhould we even allow, that the piece from

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 141.

which the king received his death was not larger than a muſket; the next circumſtance for inquiry is, Whether a muſket-ſhot could have reached him from the ramparts of Frederickſhall, or from any of the adjoining batteries? That this is probable, will appear from conſulting the plan of Frederickſhall in Motraye, who had viſited the place; for the parapet on which the king was leaning is only 180 yards from the ramparts, and about 800 from the battery, from which he conjectures that he was killed. As a random muſket-bullet will often take effect at 800, or even 1000 yards, the king might have been ſtruck in this manner, and ſtill more probably by ſmall or grape-ſhot, diſcharged from a cannon.

Many perſons were ſuſpected of being concerned in the ſuppoſed aſſaſſination: Siquier principally, becauſe he was near Charles at the time of his death, covered the body from inſpection, immediately carried the news to the prince of Heſſe, and, by haſtening to Stockholm, ſecured the crown to the princeſs Ulrica Eleonora. His conduct in theſe inſtances, however, affords no poſitive evidence either againſt himſelf or Frederic; for both would have acted in the ſame manner from common policy, whether the Swediſh monarch was killed by accident, or by their treachery. Unfortunately,

however, Siquier himſelf in 1722, being at Stockholm, in a delirium, occaſioned by a fever, opened the window of his apartment, and exclaimed, that he had murdered Charles XII.; but no one gave credit to the confeſſion of a perſon in a ſtate of infanity. Suſpicions alſo fell on Maigret the engineer, merely becauſe he was preſent in the trenches; and on General Renſkioeld, who is ſaid to have employed the murderer: but this report had no foundation, and ſeems to have chiefly ariſen from his activity in ſupporting the party of the ſenate for limiting the ſovereign authority, and placing Ulrica Eleonora on the throne.

It is evident from a paſſage in Bruce's Memoirs*, that a belief of the king's aſſaſſination was generally received: "As I was dining," he ſays, "at an ordinary one day, with ſeveral of my acquaintance, there happened to be at the table a Swediſh colonel, and a lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb, but notwithſtanding that misfortune, had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and, addreſſing himſelf to the Swediſh colonel, ordered him, in the emperor's name, to leave Riga immediately, otherwiſe he

* P. 366.

would be proceeded againſt as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room pale and trembling. On our inquiring into the reaſon of this ſudden order to the colonel, we were informed that he was ſuſpected of having ſhot the late king of Sweden in the trenches before Frederickſhall. It ſeems that ſome of the company had, by ſigns, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel underſtand the affair, on which he ran after him with his ſword drawn, and, but for the interpoſition of the aide-de-camp and ſome others with him, he would certainly have killed the colonel, who was ſafely conducted over the river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his ſervants and baggage. It was obſerved, that while he reſided in Riga, large remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally ſuſpected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The colonel made haſte to get into Poland, intending to paſs through that kingdom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king of Sweden all the time that prince reſided in Bender; but as he was no more heard of, it was generally thought he had been murdered in Poland."

Bruce does not mention the name of this colonel; but his account ſeems to corroborate the opinion

opinion of many perſons in Sweden; that if the king was treacherouſly put to death, the murder was committed by a Swede. A member of the diet, which aſſembled ſoon after the revolution, uſed theſe myſterious expreſſions:—"The liberty which has been ſo much extolled, always carried to exceſs, and to which we have ſo long been enſlaved, perhaps at its commencement did not occaſion any real bleſſings. It is a conjecture which excites horror, an *opprobrium* from which I wiſh we could entirely exculpate ourſelves, namely, that the life of our Northern hero Charles XII.—But I tremble: he was on the point of recovering the loſſes of the ſtate. Poſterity will dare to expatiate upon this much-to-be-lamented event." It appears from theſe words, as if the ſpeaker conceived that the partizans for a limited monarchy had occaſioned the death of Charles, in order to eſtabliſh a new form of government; he alludes to the following anecdote:

Cronſtedt, a Swediſh officer, is ſaid to have owned, on his death bed, to a clergyman called Tolſtadius, that he was concerned in the murder of Charles XII.; and the confeſſor afterwards drew up an account of this declaration, which was delivered to the king and ſenate, and is now preſerved in the archives. I could not learn the particulars of this account; but was

informed in general, that Cronſtedt* affirmed he only loaded the piece; and that Stiernros, who died lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, was the perſon who fired it, ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance behind the king; it is likewiſe aſſerted, that Stiernros, in his laſt illneſs, acknowledged his guilt. The queen-dowager of Sweden, whoſe curioſity was excited by all theſe reports, deſcended a few years ago into the vault which contains the body of Charles. On examining the wounds, one in the back of his head, and the other in the left temple, ſhe found that the latter was the greater; whence it was concluded, that the ball went in behind and came out before, from the well-known effect of gun-ſhot wounds, whoſe entering orifice is always the ſmalleſt. I may likewiſe venture

* It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Cronſtedt is ſaid to have been out of his ſenſes before he died; and if ſo, his confeſſion deſerves no more credit than that of Siquier. Another madman likewiſe acknowledged himſelf to be the king's aſſaſſin. Fabricius, who is mentioned as a great favourite of Charles XII. died in England in a delirium; and he aſſured Miller, the celebrated botaniſt, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that he aſſaſſinated the Swediſh monarch. I received this anecdote from a gentleman who had it from Mr. Miller himſelf.

In my ſecond viſit to Stockholm in 1784, I found, on more accurate inquiry, that many of theſe anecdotes tending to confirm the report of his aſſaſſination, were either very uncertain, miſtated, or exaggerated, particularly that the account concerning Cronſtedt's confeſſion, and Frederic's remorſe, were probably void of foundation.

to

to add, that her majeſty, after weighing all the circumſtances on both ſides, was of opinion that the king was aſſaſſinated.

It appeared probable to ſome perſons, from ſeveral particulars in the confeſſion of Cronſtedt, that he was employed by Frederic I. and it is ſtill believed by many at Stockholm, but without ſufficient proof; that Frederic, on the approach of death, raved about Charles XII. and expreſſed great compunction on his account.

In mentioning theſe anecdotes, I beg leave to requeſt that they may be conſidered merely as reports, upon which other perſons, who ſhall have an opportunity of obtaining more preciſe information, may build their inquiries; as my intention was to throw together all the intelligence I could collect concerning the death of Charles XII. to enable the reader to draw the concluſion which ſhall ſeem the moſt probable.

On reviewing the principal circumſtances in this myſterious affair; if we are convinced that the king's wound was that of a muſket or piſtol ball, yet that he was not in a ſituation to be reached by ſuch a ſhot from the enemy's batteries; and that though the belief of his being unfairly put to death was general in the army, yet no inquiry was made; if we give implicit credit to the evidence of Liewen and Carlberg, and particularly the aſſertion of Liewen,

that the report of the piece which deſtroyed the king was that of a piſtol; if we ſuppoſe the confeſſion of Cronſtedt and Stiernros genuine, the remorſe of Frederic ſincere and well atteſted; if we think the opinion of the queen-dowager* ſufficient to convince our judgment; we muſt conclude that Charles was aſſaſſinated. On the contrary, if we believe that the wound was ſo large, that it muſt have been occaſioned by a ball from a falconet, or half falconet, or if not, that the king was liable to be reached by a muſket-ball†; if we ſee no glaring contradictions between

* In oppoſition to the opinion of the late queen-dowager, we may remark, that her majeſty was much prejudiced againſt Frederic king of Sweden, and inclined to adopt and circulate any report to his diſcredit. Influenced probably by his mother's prejudices, the preſent king was at one time ſo convinced, that Cronſtedt had aſſaſſinated Charles, as to refuſe a commiſſion to his grandſon, declaring, that he never would confer a military rank on the grandſon of a perſon who had aſſaſſinated the king of Sweden; but two years afterwards he voluntarily gave him the commiſſion, candidly alleging, that he had been miſtaken, and was now convinced Cronſtedt had no ſhare in the king's aſſaſſination.

† A proof that the wound was made by a ſmall ball, ſeems to be derived from the evidence of the following perſons of the higheſt rank and credibility: "On the 12th of July, 1746, between five and ſix in the morning, the following perſons entered the vault in which is interred the body of Charles the Twelfth, and examined the wound in his head. On the right ſide below the temple was a plaiſter ſo ſtrongly fixed as not to be removed without great difficulty; under which they noticed an orifice which ſeemed to deſcend to the back part of the head, ſeven lines long and

between the account published by the court, and the relations made by those who were in the trenches, or if we think that the latter may have been mistaken in some material circumstances; if we can reconcile the conduct of Frederic as dictated by policy, and such as would be adopted by any person in the same situation, though not accessary to the murder; we ought undoubtedly to lean to the side of candour and humanity; we ought not to credit surmises so injurious to characters otherwise without reproach; and we are bound to conclude that Charles fell by the hand of the enemy, and not

and two broad. On the left side was a plaister of the same size. All the temple was driven out, and the bones shattered in such a manner, as made it easy to distinguish that the ball went out on that side. The face was a little disfigured, the mouth a little open, and some teeth visible.

"Signed, C. Harteman, C. Ekelblad, and John von Hoepken."

Mr. Firman, an engraver of medals at Stockholm, possesses a mask of plaister of Paris, moulded from the face of Charles the Twelfth, when the king's body lay at the palace of Carlsberg previous to the interment. The inspection of this curious mask, besides representing the exact features of the monarch, led me to make some remarks on the size and situation of the wound which occasioned his death. The mask reaches no farther than the extremity of each temple. The mark of the wound on the right temple is very visible, and is not large. The bones were apparently much shattered, but the eyes were perfect in their sockets; sufficiently proving, that they were not dislodged, as Motraye and Voltaire assert.

by

by treachery *. And this opinion was likewiſe ſupported by the high authority of count Poniatowſki †, the confidential friend of Charles XII.

* See B. 8. ch. 4. for poſitive evidence that a muſket-ſhot from the batteries might have reached the ſpot where Charles fell. The reader, however, is referred to the Voyage de deux François, Tom. 2. chap. 12. in which the author controverts my opinion, and aſſerts that Charles was actually aſſaſſinated.

† As I had the honour of being informed by the king of Poland.

CHAP. 4.

Changes in the form of the Swediſh government.—Inquiry into the nature of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed at the Revolution of 1772.—Diet compoſed of the king and ſtates.—Houſe of nobles.—Of the clergy.—Of citizens.—Of peaſants.—Mode of enacting laws.

THE form of the Swediſh government has frequently varied. Before the acceſſion of the houſe of Vaſa in the perſon of Guſtavus I. it was a monarchy wholly elective, and laboured under all the evils inſeparable from that moſt defective ſpecies of ſovereignty. The union of Calmar, which took place in 1397, ſtipulated, that the ſame monarch ſhould rule over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and be choſen by the deputies from the ſtates of the three kingdoms aſſembled at Calmar. Throughout the whole period in which theſe regulations ſubſiſted, Sweden was a tributary kingdom to the ſovereigns of Denmark; or, in its temporary exertions to ſhake off the yoke, drew on itſelf all the horrors of foreign invaſion and inteſtine diſcord.

From this ſtate of alternate oppreſſion and anarchy

anarchy it was reſcued by Guſtavus Vaſa, on whom the gratitude of the Swedes conferred the dominion of the country which he had delivered: they even renounced in his favour the right of electing their kings, and declared the crown hereditary in his male iſſue. The form of government eſtabliſhed at his acceſſion, though in appearance of a mixed nature, and though it lodged the ſupremacy in the aſſembly of the ſtates, yet entruſted very extenſive prerogatives to the king. Theſe powers, tranſmitted to his immediate poſterity with little diminution, were augmented under Guſtavus Adolphus, and the right of ſucceſſion was extended to the female line. But, during the minority of his daughter Chriſtina, the government underwent an alteration unfavourable to regal authority: the privileges of the ſenate, or council of ſtate, being enlarged, gave aſcendancy to the ariſtocratical party, or order of nobles; and this power was, by continual encroachments, carried to ſuch an exorbitant height, as juſtly to excite the fears and indignation of the three other orders. Charles XI. artfully availing himſelf of this diſſatisfaction, obtained from the ſtates a formal grant of abſolute ſovereignty, which quietly devolved upon his ſon Charles XII. Upon his deceaſe, Charles Frederic, duke of Holſtein, ſon of his eldeſt ſiſter Hedwige,

ought,

ought, by the law of ſucceſſion, to have aſcended the throne; but the Swedes conferred the crown on Ulrica Eleonora, the youngeſt ſiſter of Charles XII. Ulrica purchaſed her election by ratifying the limitations of prerogative impoſed by the ſtates; and her huſband, Frederic I. in whoſe favour ſhe reſigned the crown, ſecured their concurrence by ſimilar ſtipulations.

The new form of government eſtabliſhed at this juncture, conſiſted of fifty-one articles, all tending to abridge the power of the crown, and rendered the Swediſh ſovereign the moſt limited monarch in Europe. The ſupreme legiſlative authority, and the power of declaring war and making peace, reſided in the ſtates of the realm, which regularly aſſembled every three years, and could only be diſſolved by their own conſent. During the receſs of the diet, the executive power was veſted in the king and ſenate; but as the king was bound to abide by the opinion of the majority, and poſſeſſed only two votes, and the caſting voice in caſe of equal ſuffrages, he was ſubordinate to the ſenate, and could be conſidered in no other light than the preſident *. At the ſame time the ſenate ultimately

* Mr. Sheridan, in his Hiſtory of the late Revolution, &c. has thus delineated the exorbitant authority, veſted in the ſtates, p. 145:

mately depended upon the ſtates; as its members, though nominally appointed for life, were in a great meaſure choſen by the ſtates*; were amenable before that aſſembly, and liable to be removed from their office, in caſe of real or pretended malverſation. Thus the ſupreme authority re-

p. 145: "While the ſtates were aſſembled, they were, in fact, poſſeſſed of the whole ſupreme power. The authority of the king and ſenate was then ſuſpended, &c. In ſhort, the ſtates were veſted with the ſame powers, independent of the king and ſenate, that in England the two houſes of parliament poſſeſs in conjunction with the king.

"The legiſlative power they reſerved wholly to themſelves. The king and ſenate, having no ſhare whatever in it, did not even poſſeſs a negative on thoſe reſolutions of the diet, which directly attacked the regal and ſenatorial rights.—The following powers were likewiſe veſted in the ſtates alone: thoſe of declaring war, or making peace; that of altering the ſtandard of the coin, &c.

"The executive power, during the ſitting of the diet, may be ſaid to have been, in a great meaſure, lodged in a certain number of perſons ſelected from the three orders of the nobles, clergy, and burghers, who conſtituted what was denominated the ſecret committee, &c. With regard to the judicial power, the ſtates aſſumed to themſelves a right of exerciſing that alſo, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleaſure cauſes out of the ordinary courts of juſtice, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themſelves, and compoſed of their own members. Nothing could be more formidable than the power of this court, or more ſubverſive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itſelf at once the legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers; and it was to decide principally in caſes of treaſon. What rendered this extraordinary juriſdiction moſt prepoſterous was, its being generally at the ſame time both judge and party."

* All vacancies in the ſenate were filled by the king from three candidates nominated by the ſtates.

ſided

ſided in a tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, tradeſmen, and peaſants, were admitted; moſt of whom were of courſe ſubject to all the corruption and influence to which needy and ignorant repreſentatives are expoſed. Although all ſtatutes were ſigned by the king, and the ordinances of the ſenate iſſued in his name; yet he did not in either caſe poſſeſs a negative; and to obviate the poſſibility of an attempt to exerciſe that power, it was, in the diet of 1756, enacted, that "in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the ſign manual, his majeſty's name might be affixed by a ſtamp, whenever he ſhould decline his ſignature at the firſt or ſecond requeſt of the ſenate." In conſequence of this reſolution, the royal ſignature was actually engraved, and applied to the ordinary diſpatches of government, under the direction of the ſenate*. In a word, the king enjoyed the mere name of royalty; he was only the oſtenſible inſtrument in the hands of one of the two great parties, which divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the ſuperior influence in the diet.

We cannot but remark on this ſubject, that the Swedes, who, during the reigns of Charles XI. and XII. had reluctantly ſubmitted to the

* Sheridan, p. 188. Cantzler, p. 21.

deſpotiſm

deſpotiſm of their ſovereigns, knew not how to uſe their liberty: they intemperately ran into the contrary extreme; and, in order to diſable the king from recovering arbitrary power, deſpoiled him of thoſe juſt and neceſſary prerogatives, which in a monarchical conſtitution can alone form a barrier againſt ariſtocratical uſurpation and popular factions; as if they were ignorant of any medium between abſolute dominion and anarchy, or between licentiouſneſs and ſervitude.

The groſs defects in this new form of government occaſioned conſtant ſtruggles between the ſovereign and ſubjects, on one ſide to increaſe, on the other to depreſs, the royal prerogative; until Guſtavus effected the revolution of 1772. It is needleſs to enter into any detail of this extraordinary event, as Mr. Sheridan, who was ſecretary to the Britiſh envoy at Stockholm, has given to the world an ample and accurate detail of the whole tranſaction *. Perſons of the moſt oppoſite parties in Sweden unanimouſly concur in commending the fidelity of Mr. Sheridan's hiſtory, and in preferring it to the numerous narratives of that important event; and the king frequently acknowledged its general authenticity. The in-

* A Hiſtory of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c. by Charles Francis Sheridan, Eſq.

genious

genious author has developed with preciſion and truth the dreadful abuſes occaſioned by the ſyſtem of goverment eſtabliſhed in 1720, and traced, with a maſterly hand, the judicious and ſpirited conduct of Guſtavus the Third. But in this account, admirable as it is, he has advanced a capital miſtake; which, as it has fallen from a perſon of ſuch reſpectable authority, and ſeems generally prevalent in foreign countries, deſerves particular diſcuſſion. I allude to his aſſertion, that the king of Sweden is "no leſs abſolute at Stockholm than the French monarch at Verſailles, and the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople*;" whereas the ſovereign, though poſſeſſed of great prerogatives, is yet in many important inſtances a limited monarch.

The whole executive power is virtually veſted in the king: for though it is ſaid to be entruſted to him conjointly with the ſenate, yet as he appoints and removes all the members of that council, and in the adminiſtration of affairs only aſks their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is abſolute maſter of the ſenate†.

The

* P. 301.

† Article 4th. In ſome few inſtances, however, namely, in the negociations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the ſenators, in caſe they are unanimous; but as it is ſcarcely poſſible that ſeventeen ſenators, appointed and removeable by him, ſhould be unanimous in their oppoſition, we

The king has the command of the army and navy, and fills up all commiſſions; he likewiſe nominates to all civil offices *. He has the ſole power of convening and diſſolving the ſtates, and is not obliged to aſſemble them at any ſtated period †; he has rendered many of the taxes perpetual, enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the diſpoſal of the public money.

Such are the prerogatives which are annexed to his crown; but however enormous they may appear, eſpecially when compared with the ſlender degree of authority poſſeſſed by the throne before that period; yet they by no means amount to deſpotiſm. The two great features, which eſſentially diſtinguiſh an arbitrary from a limited monarch, are the right of enacting and repealing laws, and the impoſition of taxes without conſent of the ſubject; neither of which are exerciſed by the king of Sweden. The legiſlative authority reſides jointly in him and in

may fairly allow the king to have the command of the ſenate. Art. 6th. In the high courts of juſtice, indeed, conſiſting of ſeven ſenators, to which a final appeal lies from all the inferior courts, the king has only two voices, and a caſting vote if the opinions are equal. But yet, in this inſtance, as he nominates and removes at his pleaſure their judges, he has the entire diſpoſal of their ſuffrages. Art. 8th.

* Art. 6; alſo 22. 25. and 31.

† Art. 38.

the

the ſtates*; and the 40th article ſpecifies "that the king ſhall have no power to make new laws, without the knowledge and aſſent of the ſtates; nor abrogate an old one received formerly†." Concerning the impoſition of taxes, it is ſtipulated, that the king ſhall not levy money without the conſent of the ſtates, except in the caſe of actual invaſion‡; but at the concluſion of the war he ſhall be obliged to ſummon them, and the new taxes ſhall be aboliſhed. In addition to theſe two important reſtrictions, he cannot declare war, nor alter the coin, without their concurrence, and if called upon by them when convened, is obliged to account for the expenditure of the public money‖.

* Mr. Sheridan is wrong, in ſaying that the ſtates were to deliberate upon nothing but what the king thought proper to lay before them; they having a right, as well to propoſe laws, as to negative thoſe propoſed by the king. See Art. 42.

† Art. 48.

‡ Mr. Sheridan, upon this article, ſays, "By a third, though his majeſty did not openly claim a power of impoſing taxes on all occaſions, yet ſuch as already ſubſiſted were to be perpetual; and in caſe of invaſion, or *preſſing neceſſity*, the king might impoſe ſome taxes, *till* the ſtates could be aſſembled. But his majeſty was to be the judge of this neceſſity; and we have ſeen that the meeting of the ſtates depended wholly on his will and pleaſure." P. 307.—There are no ſuch words as *preſſing neceſſity* in the new articles of government, but the exerciſe of this power is ſtrictly confined to the caſe of actual invaſion: the words are, "Yet that unhappy caſe excepted, when the kingdom ſhould be attacked by an army."

‖ Articles 44. 48. 50.

Though the king is ſubject to theſe material limitations; yet, as his ordinary revenue is perpetual, and the meeting of the ſtates depends ſolely upon his pleaſure, he may, it may be urged, govern without controul, ſo long as he requires no additional ſubſidies. But as he cannot enact laws, declare war, or levy taxes, without conſent of the diet; emergencies muſt occur, which may render it neceſſary to convene that aſſembly; when grievances may be redreſſed, and breaches in the conſtitution repaired.

In fact, the preſent king, though neither preſſed by foreign war, nor by any material exigency, did, in ſix years after the eſtabliſhment of the new form of government, conceive it expedient to ſummon the ſtates, and experienced that oppoſition which characterizes the repreſentatives of a free people. In the houſe of nobles, for inſtance, a memorial was laid on the table, declaring there were no fixed laws; that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772, was for ſome time obſerved; but lately many of the king's friends appealed to that of 1616, as the proper model by which the adminiſtration was to regulate its proceedings. Which conſtitution is to be conſidered as at preſent ſubſiſting?—Other propoſitions very offenſive to the royal ear were diſcuſſed, and the memorial was intended to be formally recited at the next meeting; to prevent which meaſure, the king diſſolved

diſſolved the ſtates. His majeſty, in the ſpeech delivered on that occaſion, declared himſelf chagrined at the complaints unjuſtly levelled againſt his conduct. He added, that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1772 ſhould always be regarded by him as the true conſtitution; he never wiſhed to deviate from it in the ſlighteſt degree, and as many perſons had endeavoured to create a miſunderſtanding between him and the ſtates, he took the reſolution of diſſolving them: a ſtyle of harangue that would not have been adopted by an abſolute monarch.

In a word, whether the preſent form of government be likely to laſt, or whether it may not be as ſuddenly overturned as it was introduced by a new revolution? whether it may not, in proceſs of time, degenerate into an arbitrary monarchy, or relapſe into its priſtine anarchy? are not here the objects of inquiry. The queſtion relates ſolely to the nature of the preſent conſtitution, which the more accurately we examine, the leſs ſcrupulouſly ſhall we decide, that the king of Sweden is a limited, and not a deſpotic ſovereign.

The truth of this obſervation, is ſtill farther confirmed by the tranſactions of the diet which aſſembled in May 1786, in which ſeveral new regulations were ſettled, tending to limit the prerogative in the power of making, amending,

Though the king is subject to th[illegible]ions from limitations; yet, as his ordinary [illegible]on of taxes, petual, and the meeting of th[illegible]e. ſolely upon his pleaſure, he [illegible]ing, amending, ed, govern without contr[illegible], a queſtion of diſ- quires no additional ſub[illegible]ropoſed by the king, not enact laws, declar[illegible]of it, and two diſſented, but conſent of the [illegible]e left to the crown; but it cur, which may [illegible] the ſtates, and agreed to by the that aſſembly; [illegible] under theſe circumſtances the pro- ed, and brea[illegible] ſhould not take place, and that the In fact [illegible] of three houſes ſhould be conſidered as preſſed [illegible] ſenſe of the ſtates; all queſtions of privi- gency [illegible] and taxation excepted, in which the una- of t[illegible] nimous conſent of the four houſes ſhould be re- p[illegible] quiſite.

With reſpect to the power of removing perſons from public employments, it was reſolved that, as the king, in the ſecond article of the form of government, promiſes not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or *welfare*, unleſs lawfully convicted and judged ſo; under the word *welfare* are included public offices and employments. No man, therefore, can be deprived of any civil, military, or eccleſiaſtical employment, without previous trial or judgment, according to the laws of the land, excepting thoſe officers of ſtate, and committees mentioned in the form of government, who

are

as before, to be removed by the

axes and revenue, it was decreed,
s voted at the preceding diet
till the next meeting of the
ow be continued four years only,
ne per cent. ſhould be deducted; a
ion which, however ſmall, was made to
ove, that the grant of the extraordinary revenues depended entirely on the diet, and that the revenue of the crown was by no means fixed and permanent. An important regulation, which almoſt renders it neceſſary for the king to ſummon the diet in four years, unleſs he can render (what is not poſſible) his fixed revenue equal to the public expenditure.

But as an additional proof that the king, by the revolution of 1772, was not deſpotic, he ſince obtained new prerogatives; and effected, with the conſent of the ſtates, ſome changes in the form of government, which render him ſtill more powerful.

When the king was leading his army into Ruſſia, and was preparing to beſiege Fredericſham, which had he taken, he might have marched without interruption to the gates of Peterſburgh, he was checked in the midſt of his career, by the revolt of ſeveral officers, who refuſed to paſs the limits of Swediſh Finland,

under pretence that the king had no power to carry on offenſive war without the conſent of the ſtates. A deſpotic ſovereign would have inſtantly arreſted and condemned the refractory officers to death, appointed others in their places, and continued his progreſs againſt the enemy. But the king, who was not deſpotic, arreſted the officers, ſent them to Stockholm, to be tried according to the laws of their country, and recalled his troops from the Ruſſian territory. Not long afterwards he convened the ſtates, laid before them the motives which induced him to attack Ruſſia, obtained from the majority of the four houſes an approbation of his conduct, and ſupplies for the ſupport of the war.

Convinced alſo from recent experience, that the king ought to poſſeſs the power of declaring offenſive war, and diſpoſing of all military commiſſions, he propoſed, under the title of the Act of Union and Safety, ſeveral alterations in the new form of government. The three houſes of clergy, burghers, and peaſants, acceded to this act; but as the nobles oppoſed it, and refuſed to regiſter it as the ſenſe of the ſtates, the king ventured to arreſt the principal perſons in oppoſition, and ſummoning the ſtates to his palace, addreſſed the order of nobles:—"I have waited with every indulgence the iſſue of your long

long deliberations, in hope that patience and reflection would at length overcome your oppoſition. I find, however, that this hope has proved fruitleſs; knowing that the intereſts of my ſubjects will not admit of longer delay, and as the laws of the kingdom, and the reſolutions of the diet in 1786, ſtate that every future act, tending to explain the conſtitution (and ſuch is the Act of Safety) ſhould become a law by the plurality of the orders of the ſtate, I conſider that your preſident, Count Lowenhaupt, is fully competent to ſign the act, in the name and on behalf of your order." Count Lowenhaupt immediately ſigned it. Theſe ſtrong meaſures were not effected without the connivance of the three other houſes; and the bulk of the people undoubtedly ſided with the king.

The king has ſtill further extended the prerogative, and diminiſhed the influence of the nobles, by aboliſhing the ſenate, which, though deprived of its powers by the revolution of 1772, was the principal ſupport of the ariſtocratical intereſt, and the great channel of political and judicial diſcuſſion. Inſtead of a body confined to the nobles, and conſtituting the firſt ſupreme court of juſtice, whoſe conſent was neceſſary to render valid all acts and decrees of the crown, the king appointed a new council, divided into two departments. 1. Called the court of

of reviſion for judicial affairs, or the ſupreme court of judicature, without appeal, and conſiſting of ſix nobles and ſix commoners. 2. For matters of inferior economy, conſiſting of eight nobles and four commoners.

But even by theſe increaſed prerogatives, conferred on the crown by the Act of Safety*, the king is ſtill far from being a deſpot; becauſe he does not poſſeſs, what I muſt conſider as the two great features of deſpotiſm, the power of enacting laws, and impoſing taxes. Though he now enjoys the prerogative of declaring war and making peace, yet as he cannot ſupport a war without ſubſidies, or impoſe a ſingle tax without conſent of the ſtates, the declaration of war is a mere formality, and muſt ultimately depend on their approbation.

It is not my intention to enter into a controverſy, how far the powers poſſeſſed by the king, are too great for the ſovereign of a free people; or whether the ſtates have acted unwiſely in granting ſuch an extent of prerogative: this much is certain, that the changes were effected by the conſent of the majority of the ſtates, and with the concurrence of the people at large; and that the ſame powers which acceded to the

* The prerogative of the crown was ſtill further enlarged in the diet which met at Norkioping in 1800. The king was entruſted with the power of changing the nature and amount of the taxes impoſed by the diet.

Act

Act of Safety may on ſome future occaſion, limit the royal prerogative, if found too dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject. The king has a ſmall ſtanding army; the greateſt part of the troops conſiſt of a national militia, who, inſtead of ſupporting him in arbitrary meaſures, would be the firſt to oppoſe him. And as almoſt the whole body of the nobility, whom he has diſguſted and lowered, watch his conduct with a jealous eye, and are ready to moleſt his government, whenever he ſummons the ſtates, the permanence of his authority ultimately depends on conciliating the three houſes of the clergy, citizens, and peaſants, and on the affections of his people.

The diet, in which reſides the ſupreme legiſlative authority, is compoſed of the king, whoſe prerogatives have been already related; and the ſtates, which are convened at the ſole will of the crown, and conſiſt of the four houſes—

Of Nobles; of the Clergy; of Citizens; and of Peaſants.

The Houſe of Nobles.

The nobles are divided into counts, barons, and untitled nobility. A family once ennobled continues ſo from generation to generation, as well in the direct line as in its various collateral branches*: all poſſeſs the ſame general privileges, which

* The reader will excuſe the length of the following quotation, as

which conſiſt principally in the capacity of being ſenators, chamberlains, or of holding other civil employments about the king's perſon and court, and in an exemption from the poll tax.

as well in conſideration of the juſtneſs of the remarks, and its application to the ſubject in the text, as becauſe it clearly and preciſely aſcertains the difference between the Engliſh and foreign nobility.

"England is the only country in Europe where the diſtinction, for inſtance, of noble and not noble, is carried no farther than the nature of the government requires it ſhould; becauſe there the nobility do not, as ſuch, form a diſtinct claſs from the reſt of the nation. As it is only the head of each noble family, who is there entitled to the honours and privileges of the peerage, it is not the man who can count a long train of titled anceſtors, but the hereditary legiſlator, who is himſelf noble. The younger branches of theſe families, as they have no ſhare in the legiſlature, are but little, if (by courteſy) at all diſtinguiſhed from their fellow-ſubjects; with whom they and their deſcendants aſſimilate, and are ſoon, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, melted down into the general maſs of the people. Hence theſe become a ſort of link between the nobility and the commoners; a link that, connecting their intereſts, prevents all diviſion between theſe two orders in their capacity of members of the ſame ſociety, and which forms of that ſociety a continued chain, no part of which can be touched without effecting, by an almoſt electrical communication, all the reſt. In other countries, where thoſe who have been once ennobled tranſmit the honours and privileges of nobility to all their poſterity alike, there is no link to connect the nobles to the reſt of the nation; on the contrary, a line is drawn between them to perpetuity; a line which cuts, as it were, the chain of ſociety in two, the ſevered ends of which appear rather to repel than attract each other. There, conſequently, that conjunction of views and intereſts cannot take place in the nation at large, to which I have ſaid a free conſtitution muſt, in a great degree, owe its ſafety." Sheridan, p. 143.

The power of creating new nobility is veſted in the king; but the number is limited. A diet held under Adolphus Frederic, enacted, that no additional nobles ſhould be appointed until the families of this order were reduced to 1400, and at the revolution of 1772, the king obtained the right of adding 150. The head of each noble family, in the direct line, is by birth a member of this houſe, and repreſents, in his perſon, all the younger part of that line, as well as the collateral branches. If a ſenator, he is incapacitated from a place in the diet, but enjoys the power of transferring his ſeat to another noble. The ſeat of a repreſentative, who declines attending, is filled by the perſon next in ſucceſſion*. If each head attended, the members preſent in the houſe would amount to 1200; but as they are not compelled to aſſiſt at the diet, the number of repreſentatives varies. In the late reign, when their votes were of greater conſequence than under the preſent form of government, they uſually amounted to 500 or 600,

* Formerly each head had the power of transferring his ſeat to any one noble; but as this privilege gave riſe to a ſcandalous traffic of ſelling ſeats (ſee Sheridan, p. 159) the houſe paſſed a decree, prohibiting any repreſentative from appointing a noble of another family to be his ſubſtitute, to the prejudice of his own family in all its collateral branches, any of whom might, in preference to an alien, claim a right of aſſiſting at a diet, if the chief declined attending.

and

and on a remarkable occaſion, when Adolphus Frederic intimated a deſign of abdicating the throne, above 1000 took their ſeats. In the late diet of 1778, 700 made their appearance*.

The nobles uſed to decide by majority; but in the diet of 1774, the king introduced a new mode of voting into the houſe of nobles, which promiſed to increaſe the influence to the crown; but has not anſwered that expectation. He divided the houſe into three claſſes: 1. Counts and Barons, called *Herre Claſſen*. 2. The 300 oldeſt families, neither Counts nor Barons, and the ſons of thoſe who have the title of Excellency, called *Riddare*, or Knights. 3. The remainder of the nobility, called *Swerne Claſſen*. Each of theſe claſſes votes ſeparately; and the queſtion is determined by the majority of the claſſes.

The ſecond Houſe is that of the Clergy †.

The

* The governors of provinces, and the colonels of each regiment, attend the ſittings of the diet, to deliver in their reports; but they have no vote, excepting when they take their ſeats, as repreſentatives in their own right, or by the transfer of the heads of noble families. Theſe circumſtances have induced ſome authors erroneouſly to aſſert that the governors and colonels are, from their offices, entitled to ſeats and votes in the houſe of nobles.

† The Lutheran is the eſtabliſhed religion of Sweden. The members are biſhops, *domproſts* or deans, *proſts* or archdeacons, *paſtors* or rectors, and *comminiſters* or perpetual curates. There are fourteen dioceſes; the archbiſhopric of Upſala, and the biſhoprics of

The repreſentatives of this order conſiſt of the fourteen biſhops, and a certain number of eccleſiaſtics. The king's writ being iſſued, the chapter or eccleſiaſtical court of each dioceſe, diſpatches a circular letter to the archdeacon of a diſtrict having the right of election; who communicates the ſummons to the clergymen of the ſeveral pariſhes. Every perſon poſſeſſing a benifice, and every upper and under maſter of the royal ſchools, is an elector, and may be a candidate to repreſent the diſtrict*. The electors meet at ſome place towards the center of the archdeaconry, and the perſon who has the greateſt number of votes is choſen re-

of Lindkoeping, Skara, Strængnœs, Wœſteras, Wexio, Abo, Lund, Borgo, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlſtadt, Hermoſand, and Wiſby or Gothland. The revenues of Upſala and Wœſteras amount to about £.1,000 per annum; and thoſe of the loweſt biſhopricks to £.300. The biſhops are bound to reſidence, excepting during the meeting of the diet. The chapters of Upſala, Lund, and Abo, which are univerſities, are compoſed of the biſhops, deans, who are always *primarii profeſſores* of divinity, and the other profeſſors of divinity; in thoſe dioceſes in which there are *gymnaſia*, they conſiſt of the biſhop, dean, and the *lectores gymnaſii* or profeſſors. In the dioceſe of Wiſby or Gothland, the chapter is formed by the biſhop and the neighbouring rectors. There are alſo three ſuperintendents, who rank as biſhops, but do not ſit in the houſe: the firſt chaplain to the king; the rector of St. Nicolas at Stockholm; and the firſt chaplain of the navy.

* The *comminiſters*, or perpetual curates, have alſo a right to chuſe one repreſentative from the comminiſters of each dioceſe: but as they are bound to pay the repreſentative, they ſeldom make uſe of their privilege.

preſen-

preſentative. The biſhops are obliged to defray their own expences at the ſittings of the diet, though they uſually receive, in the larger dioceſes, 15*s.* per day, and in the ſmaller 10*s.*; but the other members are paid by their conſtituents about 5*s.* or 6*s.* per day. The number of the repreſentatives is uncertain, becauſe each archdeaconry has the privilege of ſending one member, or of joining with another in the choice of one: they have been ſeldom leſs than 50, and have never exceeded 80.

The third Houſe is that of the Citizens.

Sweden contains 104 towns, which enjoy the privilege of ſending members to the diet. Every citizen of theſe towns engaged in trade and commerce, being a freeman, and paying taxes to the town, is at the age of 21 an elector*; and every citizen, even the loweſt tradeſman, who has been a freeman during ſeven years, or an alderman during three, and has attained the

* The right of voting depends, in different places, on different qualifications. In ſome places it is derived from a certain aſſeſſment upon capitals employed in trade; in others a tax upon land without the boundaries of the town, &c. In all caſes, perſons who in this manner contribute largely to the public impoſts, enjoy an additional number of voices proportionate to the multiples which they pay: ſuppoſing, for inſtance, an annual rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* qualifies for a vote, any perſon paying 5*s.* has two; 10*s.* four votes; and ſo on. In Gotheborg there are about 1000 electors, and ſome rich merchants poſſeſs ſeveral hundred votes.

ago

age of 24, is qualified to be a repreſentative. Summons from the crown being iſſued, the governors of the provinces tranſmit them to the mayor and aldermen of each town having the right of appointing members. The mayor aſſembles the electors in the town-hall, and their choice is determined by the majority: none but freemen are permitted to be preſent. Each repreſentative receives from his conſtituents a ſmall contribution; which, in the larger towns amounts to about 15 *s.*, and in the ſmaller to 5 *s.* 4 *s.* or 2 *s.* 6*d.* a day, during their attendance at the diet. The number of members, who repreſented this order, was never preciſely the ſame. Each ſtaple town has indeed the right of ſending two; ſome of the largeſt, ſuch as Gotheborg, Nordkioping, Geffle, and a few others, three; Stockholm always deputed ten*; but ſometimes one or two ſmall towns joined to elect only one deputy, and at other times each appointed its own members. The uſual number ſeldom fell ſhort of 100, and never exceeded 200.

The fourth Houſe is that of the Peaſants.

The definition of a peaſant is a farmer employed in agriculture, poſſeſſing land of a cer-

* Of this number four are elected from the mayor and aldermen, two from the wholeſale merchants, two from retail traders, and two from perſons engaged in handicraft trades.

tain tenure, who has never followed trade, nor enjoyed a civil office. This deſcription includes only thoſe whoſe anceſtors were alſo farmers, and does not entitle either nobles, citizens, or even country gentlemen, though they may purchaſe the peaſant's eſtate, either to vote, or to be returned a member. The land qualifying the farmer, who is a peaſant, to be an elector, muſt be either crown land, or his own property. The moſt valuable of theſe eſtates may be worth £.600, and the pooreſt about £.30. If the land is poſſeſſed by two or more peaſants, the vote is ſplit among the proprietors, each enjoying that ſhare of the vote which is proportionate to his ſhare of the farm *; but each is qualified to be a repreſentative. Theſe peaſants may be divided into three claſſes: 1. Peaſants whoſe farms conſiſt of crown lands, which they enjoy for life on the payment of an annual quit-rent, and from which they cannot be removed, but by being formally proved guilty of neglecting the culture. On the death of the proprietor, the leaſe is almoſt always granted to the eldeſt ſon. 2. and 3. Peaſants who have bought, at ſix years purchaſe, either from the crown, or the

* Thus a peaſant having 1/32d of an eſtate qualifying for a vote, has 1/32d of a vote: and theſe fractions are all added together, which frequently makes an election for a member of the diet a very complicated buſineſs.

nobility, the perpetuity of their farms on the payment of a quit-rent.

The mode of election is as follows:—The governor of the province ſends the writ to the county judges, who ſummon the peaſants within their reſpective juriſdictions to meet in the court of juſtice, and in their preſence, on the day of election. The members are choſen by the majority of voices. The conſtituents join in contributing the ſum of three, four, or five ſhillings a day towards defraying the expences of their deputy at the diet. The electors who uſually aſſemble in each diſtrict are ſeldom leſs than 30, or more than 100. The number of repreſentatives in the Houſe of Peaſants is extremely uncertain; as two diſtricts occaſionally unite in ſending only one deputy, and at other times elect two; but, on an average, they uſually amount to about 100.

It is a remarkable circumſtance, that, in a conſtitution ſo free as that of Sweden, in which even the peaſants, as land-holders, are returned members to the diet, the country gentlemen are not repreſented in the ſtates of the kingdom *, have neither any vote in the choice of

* The reaſon of their excluſion from all ſhare in the legiſlation, was, that the form of government eſtabliſhed in 1720, was founded on the antient conſtitution of Sweden; by which the inhabitants were, as in moſt other countries of Europe, divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peaſants.

repreſentatives, nor can be repreſentatives themſelves: a ſtrange inconſiſtency, that thoſe perſons, who are juſtly eſteemed the moſt reſpectable and incorrupt part of the body politic, ſhould not enjoy the leaſt ſhare in the legiſlature; while many mechanics and farmers, who are both as unqualified to canvas intricate political queſtions, as incapable of reſiſting the influence of bribery, poſſeſs that important privilege. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the limited monarchy in 1720, by the ariſtocratical party, which raiſed Ulrica Eleonora to the throne, many country gentlemen ſigned an addreſs to the diet, repreſenting the impropriety of their excluſion from the ſtates of the realm. But the articles of government being finally ſettled, their application was not complied with; ſo well founded and juſt, however, were the principles of their remonſtrance, that the king, at the recommendation of the diet, advanced ſeveral of the petitioners into the order of nobles.

The ſtates of the kingdom, when convened at Stockholm *, aſſemble in ſeveral places. The nobles in the houſe of nobles, the clergy in the cathedral, and the citizens and peaſants in two apartments of the town-hall.

* The king has the power of ſummoning the diet in any other place; a power exerciſed by the late king at Geffle, in 1792, and by the preſent king at Nordkioping.

Having

Having taken their ſeats, and choſen their reſpective ſpeakers, the four houſes repair in due form to a hall of the palace; the king, clad in his royal robes and ſeated upon the throne, acquaints them, in a ſhort ſpeech, with the reaſons for which they are convened; deſiring them to aſſiſt him with their advice in the preſent juncture of affairs, and deliberate for the good of the kingdom. In anſwer to this harangue, the four ſpeakers compliment his majeſty in the name of their reſpective houſes; after which ceremony the repreſentatives retire.

Laws are enacted in the following manner:—During the ſittings of the diet, each member of the four houſes has the privilege of propoſing a queſtion to the conſideration of the order to which he belongs. A debate takes place on the motion, which is carried or rejected by a majority. If it paſſes in one houſe, it is ſent by a deputation to each of the others; and, if aſſented to by three, is preſented by the four ſpeakers to the king, who afterwards ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and communicates to them his diſſent or aſſent in form, which either negatives the bill, or gives to it the ſanction of a law. If the bill originates with the king, his majeſty refers it to the diſcuſſion of the ſtates; if approved, the four houſes repair to the palace, and

announce their aſſent; if rejected, they tranſmit their determination in writing by their ſpeakers, accompanied with the reaſons which induced them to diſſent. On terminating the diet, the king ſummons the ſtates to the palace, and diſſolves them by a ſpeech.

Age of the Deceaſed.	Above a year old.		From 1–3	
Sexes.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Fever				
Empyema				
Quinzy				
Stone				
Cirſocéle, &c.				
Eryſypelas, Gangrene, &c.				
Suffocation, Apoplexy				
Intermitting Fevers				
Spotted Fever				
Pûtrid Fever				
Hemorrhage				
Conſumption				
Cholic, &c.				
Jaundice, &c.				
Gout				
Convulſions				
Epilepſy				
Scurvy				
Fiſtulas, Ulcers				
Dropſy				
Cancer				
Leproſy, Itch				
Venereal Complaints				
Madneſs				
Old Age				
Child-bed				
Flux, or Loſs of Blood				
Raſh				
Hooping Cough, Aſthma				
Small Pox				
Meaſles				
Scarlet Fever				
Indigeſtion				
Worms				
Rickets				
Unknown or concealed Diſorders				
Caſualties, &c.				
Sums of Deaths, ſpecifying Age and Sex				

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From 3–5		From 5–10		10–15, and ſo on for every 5 years to 100.		Total of Deaths and their Diſorders
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	

ɔtal Deaths of both Sexes -

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CHAP. 5.

General Remarks on the Population.—Commerce.—Revenues and Expenditure.—Bank of Stockholm.—Military Eſtabliſhment.—Penal Laws.

THE population is perhaps more accurately aſcertained in Sweden than in any other part of Europe, which is owing to the peculiar attention of government to obtain a correct regiſter of the marriages, births, and deaths. For this purpoſe a *Tabell Commiſſion*, or board for inſpecting and regiſtering the bills of mortality, reſident at Stockholm, was inſtituted in 1749, which maintains a correſpondence with all the pariſhes and towns in the kingdom. Tables are diſtributed to the clergymen and magiſtrates for the purpoſe of enrolling the marriages, births, and deaths in their reſpective diſtricts, and ſpecifying the number of inhabitants at that time ſubſiſting; extraordinary care is taken to prevent miſtakes.

The firſt table is for a general liſt of births, deaths, and marriages; the ſecond for the bills of mortality; the third for the number of

inhabitants. The two former are kept by the parish-priests, and annually delivered; the latter by the parish-priest in the country, and by the magistrates in the towns, and are sent to the board at the end of every third year *. A copy of the two former tables is here subjoined, as their useful tendency is evident; and as an institution of a similar nature could not fail of being highly advantageous to every country.

The celebrated astronomer, Mr. Wargentin, a member of this useful society, has published in the Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, a clear and accurate account of the manner in which the board carries on its correspondence, and collects the necessary information, and has drawn from the several registers an average computation of the annual deaths.

From several judicious calculations, formed from the registers of nine successive years, he computes, that, in the country, the annual proportion of deaths to births is as 1 to 35, or, if the year is remarkably healthy, to 36 or even 37; and at Stockholm as 1 to 29. He adds, that during the same period, there were 2036 men, and 3540 women above the age of 90; of

* The ascertaining of the number of inhabitants is greatly facilitated by the poll-tax, and by the care of the clergy to keep exact registers. About thirty years ago the diet passed a law, that every person in Sweden, both male and female, should learn to read. This regulation is considered as part of the ecclesiastical discipline, and is particularly attended to by the clergy, who examine the children in their respective parishes.

whom

whom 212 men and 328 women were between 100 and 105; 31 men and 76 women between 106 and 110; 22 men and 19 women between 111 and 120; one man was 122; and one wo- 127. At the end is a table of the marriages, deaths, and births, from 1755 to 1763. We find, in Cantzler's* State of Sweden, that, in 1760, the population amounted to 2,383,113 ſouls; that of theſe were 162,888 inhabitants of towns, excluſive of the nobility and clergy; and 2,220,225 perſons living in the country, including the nobility and clergy; and that, according to a fair calculation, the whole number might be claſſed in the following proportion; 10,645 nobles, comprizing 3597 under 15 years; 18,197 eccleſiaſtics and their families, and ſtudents, including 7073 under 15; 162,888 inhabitants of towns and their families engaged in arts, manufactures, and trades; 2,191,383 inhabitants of the country employed in agriculture, the mines, &c.

I ſhall cloſe this account with a liſt of the births and deaths in Sweden, and the number of inhabitants. The reader will not doubt its accuracy, when he is informed that I received it from Mr. Wargentin.

The liſt is claſſed according to the three great diviſions of the kingdom.

In the firſt diviſion, called Sweden Proper, comprehending the metropolis, Upland, Sudermanland, Nerike, Weſtmanland, Dalecarlia, and all the provinces to the North.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	12774	12605	25379	10857	11622	22479
1750	13708	13253	26961	10035	10110	20145
1751	15247	14518	29765	9916	10236	20152
1752	14347	13703	28050	11875	11948	23823
1774	15364	14971	30335	10629	10617	20646
1775	16180	15697	31877	10882	10920	21802
1776	15220	14537	29757	10622	10621	21243
1777	15047	14541	29588	12120	12118	24238.

* P. 186. Memoires pour ſervir à la connoiſſance du Royaume de Suède; an excellent work, which, for accuracy and information, cannot be too highly recommended.

Males.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	363541	419326	782867
1776	433494	480154	913648

In the kingdom of Gothland, comprehending Warmeland, Westergothland, Ostergothland, and all the provinces south of them, with the islands of Oeland and Gothland.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	17327	16777	34104	13185	13852	27037
1750	19111	18439	37550	13406	14071	27477
1751	20016	19510	39526	13166	13584	26750
1752	18831	18092	36923	12698	12946	25644
1774	19507	18678	38185	11506	12311	23817
1775	20301	19465	39766	13691	14456	28147
1776	19016	18166	37182	11999	12454	24453
1777	19466	18570	38036	13227	13797	27024

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	477079	525781	1,002860
1776	553171	594985	1,148156

In Finland.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	8546	8257	16803	5827	5828	11655
1750	8879	8550	17429	5446	5777	11223
1751	9508	9342	18850	5149	5326	10475
1752	9737	9658	19395	5698	5702	11400
1774	12211	11731	23942	6451	6521	12752
1775	12296	12167	24463	7681	7782	15463
1776	12044	11880	23924	9361	9362	18723
1777	12609	12223	24832	9880	9915	19795
1778	13614	13202	26816	8010	7688	15698
1779	14180	13579	27759	7223	6872	14095

Number of Souls in Finland.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	205002	224910	429912
1776	298322	311823	610145

List

List of Births and Deaths in the whole Kingdom.

	BIRTHS.			DEATHS.		
Years.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1749	38647	37639	76286	29869	31302	61171
1750	41698	40242	81940	28887	29958	58845
1751	44771	43370	88141	28231	29146	57377
1752	42915	41453	84368	30592	30275	60867
1774	47082	45380	92462	27966	29249	57215
1775	47492	46030	93522	32254	33158	65412
1776	46289	44583	90863	31982	32437	64419
1777	47122	45334	92456	35227	35830	71057

Number of Souls in Sweden.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	1,045622	1,170017	2,215639
1776	1,284987	1,386962	2,671949
1781	About - - - - - -		2,767000

By comparing the population of theſe three different epochs, the reader will perceive that the country has been gradually recovering from that exhauſted ſtate to which it was reduced by the wars of Charles XII.; and that, within the ſpace of thirty years, the number of inhabitants has increaſed 551,361, or a fifth part of its preſent population *.

* The population of the Sweden ſtill continues increaſing. According to the moſt recent accounts, the number of ſouls exceeds three millions. Hamburgh, Politiſches Journal, 1800, p. 495.

ESTIMATE of the COMMERCE of SWEDEN in 1787.

	EXPORTS.			IMPORTS.			Balance in favour of Sweden.			Balance against Sweden.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Denmark and Norway	160,063	11	6¾	66,595	10	11¼	93,468	0	7½			
Dantzic	22,358	3	11½	33,246	3	0¼	—	—		10,887	19	0¼
England	367,292	16	1¼	97,762	4	7	269,530	11	6¾			
France	203,762	18	2¾	83,145	10	2½	120,617	8	0¼			
Holland	107,163	8	10¼	151,583	3	6½	—	—		44,479	14	8½
Konigsberg and Pruſſia	49,689	2	4¾	67,580	2	4¾	—	—		17,891	0	0
Italy and the Mediterranean	82,166	6	10½	33,170	3	0¼	48,996	3	10¼			
Pomerania (Swediſh)	67,938	18	0¼	187,144	9	8¼	—	—		119,205	11	8
Portugal	125,132	3	1½	40,340	18	11½	84,791	4	2			
Ruſſia and Courland	58,229	12	8½	202,781	4	4½	—	—		144,551	11	8
Spain	23,380	17	8½	14,711	7	4¾	8,669	10	3¾			
Hamburgh, Holſtein, &c.	128,911	7	6	38,202	14	9½	90,708	12	8½			
Weſt Indies	873	8	6½	—	—		873	8	6½			
Eaſt Indies	122	19	4½	10,810	2	6	—	—		10,687	3	1½

NAVIGA-

NAVIGATION to and from SWEDEN in 1781.

	Ships loaded.		Entered in Ballaſt.		Ships gone out loaded.	
	Swediſh	Foreign.	Swediſh.	Foreign.	Swediſh.	Foreign.
Denmark	357	18	—	1	368	11
Dantzic	141	2	—	—	97	1
England	88	87	8	8	235	77
France	50	5	—	1	155	4
Holland	37	1	—	—	53	1
Konigſberg	222	5	2	—	151	14
Mediterranean	53	—	—	—	43	
Pomerania	256	3	—	—	185	7
Portugal	142	—	—	—	68	14
Ruſſia	509	10	—	—	524	19
Spain	10	—	—	—	13	
Germany	274	18	—	—	418	25
Weſt Indies	2	—	—	—	1	
Eaſt Indies	—	—	—	—	—	1

	£.	s.	d.
In comparing the exports* and imports for 1781, a balance in favour of the exports is found, amounting to	360,437	19	6½
To which is to be added the national gain by the Eaſt India commerce	61,111	18	10¼
Freights gained in the Mediterranean by Swediſh ſhips, according to the beſt and moſt authentic accounts, to	50,000	0	0
£.	471,549	18	4¾
Silver, gold, and divers foreign coin imported this year	111,844	5	11¼
Intereſt, proviſion, and brokerage for loans made or renewed abroad, as well as intereſt for the divers ſums which Swediſh mer-			

* See Appendix.

chants

chants owe, and credit given them by foreigners on part of the imports of this year, amount, according to the moſt probable accounts - - - - - - - -	50,000	0	0
Annual preſents to the powers on the coaſt of Barbary, and other expences relating thereto, as well as appointments and ſalaries of conſuls in thoſe places, and of the Swediſh miniſter at Conſtantinople -	13,189	18	1½
Smuggling, and frauds in declaring the amount of the merchandizes at the cuſtom-houſe - - - - - - - - -	125,000	0	0
Balance in favour of Sweden - - - -	171,515	14	4
	£. 471,549	18	4½

The revenues are chiefly drawn from the rents of the royal demeſnes, part of the great tythes, a poll-tax *, duties on exports and imports, on mines and forges, on diſtilled ſpirits, deductions from ſalaries, penſions, and places, tax on chimnies, and monopoly of ſalt-petre.

Theſe revenues amount to £. 1,050,000 a year; but have been much augmented ſince the revolution in 1772, as they did not then pro-

* About 1*s.* 3*d.* each perſon. The poll tax is paid by every perſon, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 63; excepting the nobles and their domeſtics; ſoldiers and government ſailors; and every married couple among the lower claſs of farmers of a certain deſcription, having four children, of which the youngeſt is under eight years of age.

duce

duce more than £.837,500. In this £.1,050,000 however are not included the rents of land immediately aſſigned for the militia and ſailors, and for the pay or ſalary of the governors of provinces, and their officers; theſe rents, levied directly by thoſe to whom they are aſſigned, amount at leaſt to £.300,000 or £.350,000.

Chief articles of the Revenue in 1754.

	£.	s.	d.
Royal demeſnes	146,250	0	0
Poll-tax	56,250	0	0
Duties on export and import	154,166	10	0
Extraordinary taxes granted by the ſtates	30,416	10	0
The brandy, being a regale	41,541	10	0
The poſt office	19,000	0	0
Stamped paper	12,250	0	0
Tythes on corn	19,500	0	0
On iron, copper, ſilver, allum, brimſtone, vitriol, mines, and lime furnaces	16,812	10	0
The royal lottery	17,750	0	0

And above twenty or thirty other ſmaller articles, which produce about £.500,000.

The expences were regulated in 1773 to anſwer exactly the revenues; but they have ever exceeded them, and there is a conſiderable annual deficiency, which has not hitherto been ſupplied, otherwiſe than by loans or anticipations, and muſt oblige the king to call the ſtates to extinguiſh that increaſing debt, by ſuch new reſources

resources as may make the revenues more adequate to the expences*.

The average expences amount to 4,753,126 rix-dollars, or £. 1,188,281. 10s.

Chief Articles of Expenditure in 1784:

	£.	s.	d.
1. The king's court, including that of the queen	78,756	10	0
2. The military, viz.—the garrison regiments, the militia not included	70,336	5	0
3. Ammunition for ditto	26,791	15	0
4. Clothing ditto	24,500	0	0
5. Artillery	16,548	10	0
6. Navy, the new buildings included	118,138	10	0
7. Fortresses and engineers	19,701	0	0
8. Gallies, &c. being separate from the navy	25,699	10	0
9. Towards the expences of the king's travels	50,000	0	0
10. Ships new building, extra	35,316	10	0
11. Annual sum of extraordinaries left to the king's own disposal, according to the form of government	25,000	0	0

Amongst numerous smaller articles that make up the rest

* The diet of 1788 granted a loan towards liquidating the debt occasioned by the annual deficiency, gave supplies for carrying on the war, and laid on additional taxes; namely, six per cent. on house rents; eight per cent. on all places from ten rix-dollars, or £. 2. 10s. to 100 rix-dollars, or £. 25 per annum; on titles; and three copper dollars, or 10½d. on each window-light. The Diet of Nordkioping, in 1800, imposed additional taxes; particularly an income tax, paid by all those who possessed more than 200 rix-dollars; a tax on superfluous servants, carriages, cards, prizes in the lottery. Hamb. Pol. Journal for 1800, p. 1159.

of

of £.1,188,281. 10s. the whole of the expences, I note the following:

	£.	s.	d.
1. Drotningholm	5,129	10	0
2. The prince royal	2,700	0	0
3. The king's ſtables	4,755	0	0
4. The prince royal's ſtables	612	5	0
5. Income of prince Charles	12,034	0	0
6. Income of prince Frederic Adolphus	4,375	0	0
7. The princeſs	6,647	0	0
8. The guards	11,931	15	0
9. The life dragoons	6,143	5	0
10. The ſenate	14,583	5	0
11. The parliament of Stockholm	5,080	5	0
12. Penſions and gratifications	7,937	15	0

This eſtimate of the finances relates only to Sweden, and does not include Finland and Pomerania. Pomerania is entirely ſeparated in the accounts and eſtimates, as its expences are defrayed from its own revenues; but Finland, though not joined with Sweden in the yearly eſtimates, is, however, ſupported by the Swediſh revenues, out of which about £. 12,500 annually ſupply the deficiency which ariſes chiefly from the great expences occaſioned by the fortreſs of Sveaborg, the military, and the gallies. The revenues of Finland are £. 100,000 per annum, and the expences £. 112,500; to which muſt be added the rents of land conſigned to pay the militia, governors,

&c. which may amount to between £.25,000 and £.30,000 ſterling.

RECAPITULATION.

Revenues of Sweden	£. 1,050,000
——— of Finland	100,000
——— of Pomerania	50,000
Rents of lands in Sweden	300,000
——— in Finland	25,000
Total amount	£. 1,525,000

This ſum, in caſe of neceſſity, might be conſiderably augmented, partly by new taxes granted by the ſtates, thoſe now paid being very moderate; partly by free gifts from the bank of Sweden, out of the annual profits, which are conſiderable, but cannot be diſpoſed of without the conſent of the ſtates.

The bank of Stockholm owes its origin to Palmſhut, a merchant, who carried on an extenſive trade, and poſſeſſed great property in iron mines. He eſtabliſhed at Stockholm a bank for the purpoſe of exchanging and lending money, divided into two departments. Being the only banker at that time in the kingdom, his correſpondence was very extenſive, and his credit ſo well ſupported by his private fund, and the

profit of his iron works, that the notes which he iſſued at the intereſt of eight per cent. for a term of ten years and upwards, were circulated through the kingdom, and received as ready caſh by the trading part of the nation.

In proceſs of time, ſeveral counterfeit notes being iſſued, and many of his debtors refuſing either to reimburſe the capital or diſcharge the intereſt, the goods and pawns being too numerous to be diſpoſed of to advantage, and the proceedings of the courts of law too dilatory, the bank was drained of caſh, and its credit in danger of ſinking into diſrepute.

In this dilemma, Palmſhut applied to Charles XI. explained the general ſtate of his bank, proved that the fund was by no means deficient; but if he could not recover what was due, he ſhould be in danger of becoming bankrupt. He intreated, therefore, the king to take the bank under his royal direction, and demonſtrated, that by certain regulations the money could be recovered, the accounts ſettled, and the loſſes entirely repaired. The king approved the propoſal, appointed Palmſhut director, and having eſtabliſhed the credit of the bank, tranſferred the direction to the ſtates of the kingdom aſſembled in 1688; declared himſelf and his ſucceſſors protectors of the bank, but renounced all interference in diſpoſing of the money.

The ſtates being thus declared guarantees, proprietors, and directors of the bank, ſeveral regulations were made.

The bank was permitted to lend money on good ſecurity, at the intereſt of eight per cent. but to pay for all money borrowed only ſix per cent.; the debtors to diſcharge intereſt upon intereſt, but the bank not to pay intereſt upon intereſt; all the king's revenues to be depoſited in the bank, without receiving intereſt. The bank was empowered to iſſue notes not exceeding the value of thirty-ſix dollars copper mint, or 10*s.*; and it was finally reſolved, that the ſtates, or thoſe whom they ſhould depute, ſhould have the power of inſpecting the accounts, and inquiring into the nature of its conſtitution. By theſe regulations the credit and riches of the bank increaſed to that degree, that towards the cloſe of the laſt century it became the univerſal depoſitory of the whole kingdom, both as to public and private circulation, and lowered the intereſt from eight to ſeven, and afterwards to ſix, four, and three per cent. In return, the intereſt for all money borrowed, or depoſited in the bank, by way of loan, was likewiſe leſſened from ſix to four and an half, three, and two per cent.

The large quantity of copper money then current in the country being by reaſon of its bulk

bulk and weight extremely inconvenient, rendered the circulation of bank notes advantageous to trade and commerce.

The bank ſupplied Charles the Twelfth with ſuch conſiderable ſums from 1714 to 1717, that the revenues ariſing from the tolls and cuſtoms were inſufficient to pay the intereſt, and there was a conſiderable deficiency.

Theſe ſupplies greatly diminiſhed the public opinion in favour of the bank, and would have undermined its credit, had not the king, on the remonſtrance of the ſtates, mortgaged certain revenues of the crown, for the diſcharge of the intereſt; he declared at the ſame time that all the revenues then mortgaged ſhould remain in the hands of the bank, until the debt ſhould be fully diſcharged, and promiſed, that he would not, on any pretext or emergency, have again recourſe to the bank for money, except for ſuch as belonged to the crown. By this ſtep the credit of the bank was in ſome meaſure retrieved; but its ſtock was too far drained to repair entirely its former credit, until Baron Goertz undeſignedly contributed to it by a ſcheme in every other reſpect detrimental to the nation. To ſupply Charles with money for his conſtant wars, Goertz compelled perſons firſt, by means of fines and penalties, and afterwards by a ſpecies of torture, to deliver up their plate, jewels, and coin. In return for theſe effects they re-

ceived copper currency, called *myntellen*, or ſigns of coins, each weighing only one-third of a ſtyver, but paſſing for a ſilver dollar, or tenpence, of which it was only a 96th part.

The public finding their property thus forcibly torn from them, and receiving no other equivalent than a debaſed currency, ſecretly transferred their plate, jewels, and money, to the bank, relying on the royal promiſe that the bank ſhould be exempted from the interference and inſpection of the crown. Goertz, conſidering this proceeding as fraudulent to the crown, adviſed the king to ſeize the money and effects depoſited in the bank; but Charles refuſed to break his word, and forbade Goertz to lay before him any propoſals that might tend to the prejudice of the bank.

In this criſis of affairs the bank received ſuch large ſums of money, great part of which, being placed for ſecurity, paid no intereſt, that the profits were very conſiderable. This flouriſhing ſtate of affairs induced the bank, by order of the ſtates, in 1741, to preſent the king with a donative of 100,000 ſilver dollars, or £.8,333 4*s*., and to furniſh him with 500,000, or £.41,666, without intereſt, towards carrying on the war againſt Ruſſia. Since that period it has frequently advanced large ſums of money to the crown and to the board of manufactures, by order of the ſtates.

The

The bank is divided into two departments, *Læne* or loan, and *Wexel* or exchange bank, each keeping the accounts as ſeparate as if they were two diſtinct eſtabliſhments, but each mutually ſupplying the other as occaſion requires.

The loan bank lends money on mortgages or pledges. Gold and ſilver in block, copper, braſs, and *læne bank ſedler*, or certificates of having lent money to the bank, being conſidered of nearly the ſame value as ready money, the proprietors, on depoſiting thoſe pledges in the bank, receive the full value, on paying three per cent. annual intereſt. Formerly jewels were received as pledges; but as the bank was once conſiderably defrauded in that article, and on account of their fluctuation in value, they are no longer admitted. As iron is a principal article in the exports of Sweden, and as the working of the mines is attended with conſiderable expence, and the ſale uncertain, the bank receives it as a proper ſecurity for a loan. The iron being duly appraiſed, and lodged in the public warehouſe, the proprietor receives three-fourths of its value at the intereſt of three per cent.; and when he diſpoſes of the iron, it is again delivered to him, on producing a certificate from the bank that the loan is duly diſcharged.

Mortgaged lands and houſes, being of a leſs certain value, pay an intereſt of four per cent.

on the money borrowed; and for the purpoſe of liquidating the debt, the following regulations were adopted:—All borrowers on lands and houſes ſhall pay ſix per cent. yearly: of this ſum four per cent. is the lawful intereſt, and the remaining two per cent. is annually deducted from the capital; by which means the original debt is gradually diminiſhing.

The *Wexel* or exchange bank exchanges and iſſues bank notes, diſcounts bills, receives and aſſigns the money depoſited for intereſt or ſecurity, and diſcharges the intereſt of two per cent. on all money placed in their hands.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Adolphus Frederic, bank notes being iſſued in ſuch large numbers, and many at ſo low a value as 4*s.* 6*d.* ſcarcely any ſpecie was left in the kingdom; the bank was ſo drained of caſh as not to be able to exchange its notes but in copper-money, and paper was almoſt the only currency.

For the purpoſe therefore of preventing a total bankruptcy, with which the nation was threatened, and calling in the paper currency, the ſtates, in 1766, voted a loan of 3,000,000 rix dollars, or £.750,000, to effect the realization of the bank notes, and to circulate a ſufficient quantity of ſpecie.

As a farther ſecurity againſt the encroach-

ments

ments of the crown, a former regulation was confirmed, that the bank ſhould annually advance to the king £. 250,000 for the revenues of the current year, and repay itſelf from the revenues of the ſubſequent year; but that no more money ſhould be lent to the crown under any pretence.

Many ſchemes calculated to reſtore the credit of the bank being counteracted by party, the diet, in 1772, conſigned to the king the difficult province of realizing the bank notes, and reforming the currency, which was happily effected. In 1777 and 1779 the ſtates confirmed the realization, and made ſeveral new regulations, which tended to ſecure the credit of the bank, and rendered it ſtill farther independent of the crown.

The principal regulations were as follows:—That only £. 250,000 ſhould be annually lent on eſtates, above what was already advanced; that the eſtates already mortgaged ſhould, on failure of the payment of one year's intereſt, be immediately ſold by auction, the debt to the bank diſcharged, and the remainder returned to the proprietors; that the loan on the mortgaged eſtates ſhould not be continued, when the ſaid eſtates were ſold or transferred, without the conſent of the bank; and that on the ſucceſſion or transfer

of

of ſuch eſtates two per cent. of the mortgaged property ſhould be conſigned to the bank.

The independence of the bank was ſtill farther eſtabliſhed by the diet of 1784. A committee of reviſors was appointed for the purpoſe of ſuperintending the accounts: it conſiſts of a certain number of perſons choſen by the three houſes of nobles, clergy, and burghers, from their reſpective orders, who continue in office till the meeting of a new diet, when they are either renewed or confirmed. They aſſemble once every three years, and continue ſitting not more than a month. They inſpect the general ſtate of the bank, compare the accounts of the directors, and obſerve that no abuſes have been committed, and that the regulations of the ſtates have been followed.

But as by the new conſtitution the convocation of the ſtates depends on the will of the king, and as a great length of time might elapſe in the intervals of the diet, it was carefully provided, that the crown ſhould not have the ſmalleſt part in the appointment of a vacant reviſor's place. The mode of election is as follows:—Of the nobles the vacant place is filled by the remaining noble reviſors, and by certain deputies nominated by the houſe of nobles, who continue electors until the meeting of the next diet.

diet. The clergy of Stockholm notify a vacancy among the eccleſiaſtical reviſors, to the conſiſtories in each province, and appoint the day of election. The new reviſor is choſen by the majority of the conſiſtories. On a vacancy among the reviſors of the order of burghers, the magiſtrates of Stockholm notify in the ſame manner the vacancy and day of election to all the borough towns; which likewiſe chooſe the new reviſor either by deputies or letters.

No country perhaps has ever experienced in a greater degree than Sweden, ſuch ſevere diſtreſſes from a want of gold and ſilver ſpecie; from a ſcarcity even of copper money*, and its enormous bulk, and from the fluctuating value of the bank notes, which at one period formed almoſt the only currency. Theſe evils, noticed by many travellers† who have written on Sweden,

* On account of the advantages attending the exportation of the copper money, the intrinſic value of which was ſuperior to its nominal, and the immenſe number of bank-notes, there was ſcarcely any thing but paper currency. At one period even private ſhopkeepers iſſued ſmall printed notes, ſome ſo low as 1*d.* 2*d.* or 3*d.* value, which they gave in exchange for the bank-notes.

† The reader will eaſily conceive the preſent improvements of the coin by the following paſſage in Mr. Wraxall's Tour, which he made in 1774, only five years before I viſited Sweden. "Whatever quantity of precious metals they have in the metropolis of this

Sweden, and which threatened a total bankruptcy, were removed by the king; to whom the ſtates of 1772 conſigned the difficult province of reforming the currency. Having obtained in Holland a loan of £.750,000, he called in a conſiderable part of the bank-notes, and introduced ſuch a plentiful ſupply of ſilver coin, remarkable for its purity and convenience, that in the courſe of my progreſs through Sweden, I found not the leaſt difficulty of procuring, even in the diſtant provinces and ſmalleſt towns, ſilver money in exchange for gold or bank notes. The king has alſo, in a great meaſure, aboliſhed the numerous and complicated modes of pecuniary computation, which varied in different places, and under different circumſtances, and

this kingdom, I have not yet ſeen one bit, however ſmall, either of gold or ſilver, in my long journey from Helſimborg to this place; nor have they, I am well aſſured, any ſuch commodities in the provinces. In lieu of theſe two articles, generally uſed amongſt us, they have two other articles which ſupply their place, namely, copper and paper. Their bank notes are as low as one ſhilling and ſixpence; and they have them of all values riſing gradually from that ſum. It is often not a little diverting, when I tendered them one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to 12*s.* 6*d.* to ſee them bring both their hands full of copper coins; nor can they convert it into current money by any other means." Wraxall's Tour, p. 96.

Since my laſt viſit to Sweden, gold and ſilver are extremely ſcarce; and I am now informed (1801) that bank notes are again become almoſt the only currency in the kingdom.

enjoined

enjoined one ſimple ſpecies of reckoning to be general throughout the kingdom, and indiſcriminately uſed on all occaſions*.

Military eſtabliſhment.

The Swediſh army is divided into national militia, and garriſon regiments; the latter, or troops on the German footing, are compoſed of natives and foreigners duly inliſted, and ſtationed in the ſeveral garriſons, who receive their pay in money.

Although the national militia firſt took a regular form under John III. yet its fixed eſtabliſhment was ſettled by Charles XI. who reſumed the grants of the crown-demeſnes which had been laviſhed by his predeceſſors: ſome he reſtored, on condition that the proprietors of a certain portion ſhould furniſh a ſoldier; others

* They computed, on different occaſions, and in different parts of the kingdom, by tons of gold, ſilver dollars, copper dollars, rix-dollars, plotes, ſtivers, runſtics, or œhers, ſome whereof were imaginary, while the intrinſic worth of others was different from the real. A ton of gold = 100,000 ſilver dollars, or 300,000 copper dollars, ſilver money being of triple value to copper money; a rix-dollar = 5*s.*; a plote = 1*s.* 8*d.*; ſilver dollar = 10*d.* a copper dollar = 3½*d.* = 10 ſtivers and 2 runſtics; a ſtiver = 1 farthing and ½ = 3 runſtics or copper œhres. The new mode of computation introduced by his majeſty, is by rix-dollars, ſkelins, and runſtics. A rix-dollar = 5*s.* contains 48 ſkelins, and a ſkelin 12 runſtics. This mode has been adopted by government, and will, in proceſs of time, become general; though the people are, from long habit, attached to their antient complicated manner of reckoning, and will not readily renounce it.

he

he allotted for the maintenance of the officers. It was alſo enacted during his reign, that the lands thus aſſigned for the ſupport of the national militia, ſhould for ever remain appropriated to that purpoſe; and theſe regulations were further confirmed and augmented in 1723, with the additional clauſe, that they ſhould be conſidered as a fundamental part of the conſtitution, and never be aboliſhed.

The kingdom is divided into diſtricts, which are reſpectively bound to furniſh and maintain a ſtipulated number of troops. Each holder of a certain quantity of crown land, called a *Hemman*, provides a ſoldier, aſſigns for his maintenance a ſmall portion of ground, a cottage, and a barn, and allows him 100 copper dollars, or £.1. 7*s*. 8½*d*. per annum, a ſuit of coarſe clothes, and two pair of ſhoes. During the abſence of the ſoldier, either with the army in time of war, or during the annual reviews, or when he is employed in the ſervice of government, the landholder cultivates his ground* for the ſubſiſtence of his family, and, when he is preſent,

* In my route through Sweden, I ſtopped to examine a portion of ground appropriated to the maintenance of a corporal of infantry: it meaſured 147 yards in length, and 117 in breadth; but as it was in general a deep ſand, only part was capable of being advantageouſly cultivated, ſo that it was by no means ſufficient for the ſubſiſtence of the corporal and his family.

may

may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages beſtowed on a labourer*. On the death of the ſoldier, his widow and children cede the ground and houſe to his ſucceſſor, whom the landholder is bound to provide within the ſpace of three months, on pain of being fined.

With reſpect to the cavalry, a certain number of *hemmans* are joined to furniſh a man and horſe fully equipped, and maintain them both.

Beſide 4*s*. 2*d*. annually paid by the proprietors of each *hemman*, towards defraying the expence of the uniforms, ſome crown-demeſnes are appropriated for the ſame purpoſe, but are ſcarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. As the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer ſpace than three weeks in the year, they are ſeldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years. On a ſimilar principle, the officers receive, inſtead of their pay in money, eſtates in land, called *boſtælle*, ſituated in the ſame province to which the regiment

* On an average a man's wages may be reckoned at 5½*d*. per day; excepting in harveſt-time, then they are ſeldom leſs than 11*d*. and ſometimes as high as 1*s*. 10*d*. for mowing in the fertile and well-cultivated provinces. A woman may gain about 3*d*. per day (1785.)

belongs,

belongs, and are allowed an additional appointment in corn from the king's tythes. Each province being divided into a number of *hemmans* ſufficient to ſupport a regiment; the ſmaller provinces furniſh the regiments of infantry, and the larger thoſe of cavalry. The eſtate appropriated to the colonel is ſituated towards the center of the province, and of the grounds aſſigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of thoſe belonging to his company; and in a ſimilar gradation to the corporal.

In every year, either before or after harveſt, when the peaſants are leaſt employed, the companies of each regiment are ſeparately aſſembled for a fortnight or three weeks. The landholder is obliged to tranſport the man and his baggage to the place of rendezvous, and maintain him during his ſtay at the review. Beſide theſe annual encampments, once in three years a general review of each regiment takes place. The men are alſo conſtantly exerciſed on Sundays, after divine ſervice, in ſmall parties, and in larger corps for ſome time before the encampment, but particularly in ſpring. If, in time of war, theſe troops march out of the country, the crown receives the uſual contributions from the landholder, and provides the ſoldiers with clothes, proviſions, and pay.

In

In the Spring of 1779 the following was nearly the ſtate of the Swediſh army:

REGULAR TROOPS.

Nine * regiments of infantry	9,000
Two of cavalry	800
Artillery	2,900
Total of regular troops	12,700

NATIONAL MILITIA.

Twenty-one regiments of infantry	24,000
Seven of cavalry	7,400
Light dragoons	3,400
Total of national militia	34,800
Total of regular and national troops	47,500

I ſhall cloſe this chapter with a few remarks on the Penal laws.

There are four ſuperior courts of juſtice, called Hof-rætt: at Stockholm for Sweden Proper, at Jonkioping for the kingdom of Gothland, at Abo for South Finland, and at Vaſa for North Finland. No ſentence of death paſſed by the

* The largeſt regiments contain 1670, the ſmalleſt 1000, and are divided into companies. The ſtaff-officers are, a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quarter-maſter, who ranks as captain, and two adjutants.—Each company of 150 men has a captain, lieutenant, enſign, five non-commiſſioned officers, and ſix corporals, included in the 150.

inferior courts can be executed, unleſs ratified by theſe tribunals.

Every ſmall town has one court of juſtice, called Radſtugu-rætt; and every large town two, one denominated Radſtugu-rætt, and the other Kæmners-rætt. In Stockholm there are four Kæmners-rætter for the four diſtricts of the city. The inferior tribunals are *Kiamar's rætter*, which aſſemble occaſionally in the principal towns, and *Harad's-rætt*, or a kind of aſſizes, generally held three times a year, under the county judges. It may not be unintereſting to mention in this place, that, in the latter, there is a kind of jury, conſiſting of twelve peaſants, choſen by the diſtrict, and confirmed by the governor of the province: they continue in office for life, and ſeven of them form a court. In all criminal caſes the judge demands their opinion, which prevails againſt his deciſion, if they are unanimous. But this inſtitution, according to practice, is a mere formality: for the jurymen in the criminal courts * are ſo ignorant and poor, that moſt of them pay implicit deference to the dictates of the judge; their ſentiments have only force when they *all* agree, and they are not, as in England, *obliged* to be unanimous. The ſupineneſs indeed, and paſ-

* In civil proceſſes, the jurymen are not ſo inſignificant: being for the moſt part the richeſt peaſants.

ſiveneſs,

liveneſs, of theſe inſignificant retainers of juſtice are ſo notorious, that a man, remarkable for indolence and inattention, is commonly ſaid to be *as ſleepy as a juryman.*

The uſual modes of execution in Sweden are beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king: he either complains of unjuſt condemnation, and demands a reviſal of the ſentence; or, if he confeſſes his guilt, may implore pardon, or a mitigation of puniſhment. So mild are the penal laws, that ſeveral offences, which in other countries are conſidered as capital, are chaſtiſed by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, impriſonment, and hard labour; more than 120 ſtrokes of the rod are never inflicted; nor is a criminal ſentenced to bread and water for more than 28 days.

Many flagrant abuſes in the courts of juſtice have been reformed and corrected by the king. In all caſes of high-treaſon, previous notice muſt be ſent to the crown before any court can commence an inquiry, an ordinance which has put a ſtop to many frivolous and vexatious accuſations. Before the acceſſion of Guſtavus the Third, it was common for perſons indicted, but not convicted, of crimes, to ſuffer an impriſonment of ſeveral years without being tried; but, by the abolition of many tedious forms, every

criminal is arraigned within a ſhort period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration require no comment. His majeſty increaſed the ſalaries of the judges, and conſigned their ſhare of the fines inflicted by their deciſion to other uſes: by this judicious regulation he greatly leſſened the corruption and injuſtice which prevailed in thoſe tribunals; for the ſcanty incomes of the judges expoſed them to bribery; while a ſhare in the fines rendered them intereſted in convicting the criminal. The king alſo promoted the rights of humanity, by ſuppreſſing, in 1773, the cruel and abſurd practice of torture, which was employed for the purpoſe of obtaining a confeſſion of guilt.

One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deſerves to be mentioned, and adopted in all countries; a criminal is tried without expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The proſecutor denounces a perſon ſuſpected of guilt to the king's officer of juſtice, who carries on the proceſs at the public charge.

CHAP. 6.

Departure from Stockholm.—Deſcription of Upſala.—Antient palace.—Cataſtrophe of the Sture family.—Madneſs of Eric XIV. —Cathedral.—Tomb and character of Guſtavus Vaſa.—Geneaological table of the kings of Sweden his deſcendants.—Tomb of John III.—Catharine Jaghellon.—Benedict Oxenſtiern.—Laurentius Petri.—Account of the univerſity.—Public library.—Codex Argenteus —Profeſſor Bergman.—Royal Society.—Moraſteen, antient place of enthronement for the kings of Sweden.

ALTHOUGH my ſtay in Sweden was limited, I was unwilling to quit the country without viſiting Gotheborg, the moſt commercial town next to Stockholm, and viewing the canal of Trolhætta. My companions preferring to ſee the mines of Fahlun and Dannemora, I quitted them at Stockholm, and rejoined them at Carlſcrona. Having purchaſed an open cart, the common travelling vehicle in this country, which was rendered more commodious by two arm-chairs hung on ſprings, I ſet out early on the 4th of March, accompanied by a Swediſh ſervant, who ſpoke French, as my interpreter, and arrived the ſame day at Upſala, which is diſtant 45 miles from the capital.

Upſala, which ſtands in the beginning of an open plain fertile in grain and paſture, is a ſmall but neat town, containing, excluſive of the ſtudents, 3000 inhabitants. The ground-plot is extremely regular: it is divided into two almoſt equal parts by the rivulet Sala, and the ſtreets are drawn at right-angles from a central kind of ſquare. Some houſes are built with brick and ſtuccoed; but the generality are conſtructed with trunks, ſmoothed into the ſhape of planks, and painted red, and the roofs are covered with turf. Each houſe has a ſmall court-yard, or garden.

Old Upſala, which is a place of high antiquity, and mentioned in the earlieſt accounts of theſe Northern countries, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the ſite of the preſent town; it was much celebrated as the principal place of ſacrifice in times of Pagan ſuperſtition, and as the reſidence of the high-prieſt of Oden *. New Upſala, however, is far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm: no authentic records, indeed, aſcertain its origin; but ſeveral antiquaries have, with much probability, conjectured, that it was a ſuburb of Old Upſala, and roſe upon its ruins. †

* Snorro Sturlenſis Hiſt. Reg. Norweg. vol. i. c. 76. Dahlin's Geſchichte von Sweden, vol. i. paſſim.

† Perinſkioldi Upſala Nova.

Upſala,

Upſala was formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal reſidence. The antient palace, begun in 1549 * by Guſtavus Vaſa, and completed by his ſon Eric, was a ſpacious and magnificent building, until great part was, in 1702, conſumed by fire. The remains, which ſtand on an elevated ſite, and command a fine proſpect of the adjacent country, conſiſt of an entire wing, a ſmall part of another, and the principal front, which has been repaired, and is covered with a red ſtucco. An old entrance, vaſt maſſes of ruins, arches, vaults, and large piles of brick and mortar, are evident traces of antient ſplendour. The room in which the diet of Sweden uſed to aſſemble is now converted into a granary, and affords no other proofs of former importance than its dimenſions, being 140 feet in length, and 90 in breadth. The few remaining apartments in the ruined wing, are uſed as the common jail.

Underneath are three dungeons, which were formerly appropriated to the confinement of ſtate-priſoners; the moſt remarkable of whom was count Svante Sture, deſcended from an antient family, which gave ſeveral adminiſtrators to Sweden, and, before the election of Guſtavus Vaſa, had the faireſt pretenſions to the throne. On a door of one of theſe dungeons my con-

* Perinſkioldi Upſala Nova, p. 317.

ductor pointed out ſeveral rude characters, which, according to tradition, were made by count Svante in the agony of his diſtreſs, and as a memorial of his grief for the death of his ſon. The ſight of theſe characters, and the name of Sture, brought to my recollection the ſudden extinction of that much-injured family, to which theſe walls were a witneſs, and the gloomy madneſs of Eric, which occaſioned that dreadful cataſtrophe. The miſtruſt and ſuſpicion which that unfortunate monarch conceived againſt the nobility of Sweden, increaſing with the diſtreſſes of his reign, hurried him at length into a ſtate of inſanity: he ſaw a plot in the moſt common occurrences, and gave implicit credit to idle rumours of intended revolts, artfully ſpread by his favourites to intimidate or exaſperate him.

The family of Sture had long been the chief object of his jealouſy, and had already experienced ſome unwarrantable acts of power. Nicholas, the ſon of count Svante, being, in 1566, cited by Eric before the diet, on a charge of miſconduct at the ſiege of Bohus, was found guilty, and condemned to death. The king, however, inſtead of ſuffering the ſentence to be inflicted, or of remitting it entirely, acted with his uſual inconſiſtency. He ordered him to be conveyed in mock proceſſion through the ſtreets

of

of Stockholm with a crown of ſtraw on his head; yet, ſoon after this public affront, he again received him into favour, and appointed him embaſſador to the court of Loraine. But I haſten to the event which gave riſe to this detail, the impriſonment and extinction of the Sture family. On the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions merely derived from rumour, and ſome ſuborned witneſſes, count Svante and his ſons Eric and Nicholas, and ſeveral other perſons of the firſt diſtinction, were in 1567, accuſed of conſpiring againſt the life of the king, arreſted, and confined in the palace of Upſala. While the trials were pending, a report being ſpread that his brother John, whom the king had impriſoned at Gripſholm, had eſcaped from confinement, Eric ſuddenly repaired to the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was confined, and accoſted him with the appellation of traitor. The young count endeavouring to appeaſe his fury by throwing himſelf at his feet, the king ſtabbed him in the arm; Sture, drawing the dagger from the wound, kiſſed it and preſented it to Eric, who, unmoved with this affecting inſtance of loyalty, repeated the blow, and ordered his ſervant to finiſh the murder. Seized with an inſtantaneous fit of remorſe, he flew to the dungeon of count Svante, and falling at his feet, called him his friend, exclaiming in an agony of deſpair, "In God's

"name,

" name, I entreat you to forgive what I have " committed againſt you." " Willingly," replied the old count, melting into tears of compaſſion; " but if my ſon's life is in danger, " you muſt anſwer for it before God." " Yes, " yes," replied the king in a tranſport of rage, " I was ſure that I ſhould never obtain your " pardon;" then giving orders to the jailor to ſecure the count, he haſtily quitted the palace in a peaſant's dreſs, and, accompanied by a few guards, roved about the country in a frantic manner. Dennis Bury, his preceptor, overtaking him at a ſmall diſtance from the town, fell proſtrate at his feet, and conjured him to ſpare the lives of the noble priſoners; a petition which proved as fatal to himſelf as to thoſe for whom he interceded: for Eric gave ſigns to one of his guards, who killed Bury on the ſpot, and diſpatched immediate orders to the jailer at Upſala for the execution of the priſoners; orders of a madman, which were too readily obeyed, and which extirpated at once the ancient family of the Stures.

Mean while, Eric wandered about the woods in a ſtate of remorſe and diſtraction, and was diſcovered on the fourth day by his wife Catharine: ſhe found him in the parſonage of Odenſala, wild with grief and deſpair*, and

* Einem wildem Thier aehnlicher als einem Menſchen. Dahlin.

ſcattering money among the people who were aſſembled upon this melancholy occaſion. The preſence of his beloved Catharine operated like a charm: ſhe calmed his agonies, prevailed on him to take nouriſhment and repoſe, and accompanied him to Stockholm, where he gradually recovered his ſenſes.* But ſoon relapſing into his former ſtate of miſtruſt and ſuſpicion, his adminiſtration became ſo weak and odious, that, in the following year, he was depoſed by his two brothers, who united their forces againſt him. John aſcended the throne which Eric had unworthily filled. In another place, I ſhall mention the circumſtances of his impriſonment and death.†

Upſala is an archiepiſcopal ſee, and one of the moſt antient Chriſtian eſtabliſhments in Sweden. Everinus was the firſt biſhop; by birth an Engliſhman, he came in 1026, into this country, at the requeſt of king Olaus Scotkonung, to aſſiſt in converting the natives of Old Upſala to Chriſtianity ‡. The ſimilarity of the Engliſh and Swediſh languages is mentioned as the motive which firſt brought Everinus, and afterwards ſeveral of his countrymen, into theſe parts

* See Dahlin's Geſ. vol. 3. p. 511, &c. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. Liv. 9.

† See chap. 9. of this book.

‡ See Dahlin, vol. 2. 468, &c.

as preachers of the Goſpel. He was no leſs qualified for this office from his knowledge of the Swediſh idiom, than from the meekneſs of his diſpoſition; not compelling, as was too uſual, the natives to embrace the Chriſtian doctrines by violence and perſecution; but introducing the Goſpel by perſuaſion and example. His ſucceſſors in the ſee reſided for the moſt part at Sigtuna, until 1120, when Nicholas Ulphſon fixed the reſidence at Old Upſala. Stephen, a native of Eaſt Gothland, the ſeventh biſhop, was the firſt archbiſhop: he was raiſed to that dignity in 1164, and died in 1185. Falko, who was conſecrated in 1267, and expired in 1276, firſt transferred the reſidence to New Upſala. The immediate occaſion of this change in the archiepiſcopal ſeat was the deſtruction of the cathedral at Old Upſala by fire in 1246; ſoon afterwards the preſent cathedral*, which is ſituated in the centre of the town, was erected. It is a large building of brick, in the Gothic ſtyle of architecture, excepting two towers of later date, which are ornamented with ſmall marble pillars of the Doric order, and disfigure the general ſymmetry. The foundation was laid in the middle of the 13th century, under the direction of Stephen Bonneville, a French

* Periſk. chap. 2. and 9.

architect,

architect*, after the model of the church of Notre Dame at Paris.

Entering the cathedral I beheld with the greateſt reverence, and even a degree of enthuſiaſtic admiration, the ſepulchre which covers the aſhes of Guſtavus Vaſa; it ſtands in a private chapel, and is an oblong monument of marble, with pyramids at each angle†: his figure is repreſented in marble between thoſe of his two firſt wives Catharine and Margaret, whoſe remains are interred in the ſame tomb.

Born in a private ſtation, and bred in the ſchool of adverſity, Guſtavus obtained and deſerved a crown by the firſt of all titles, the affection and gratitude of his countrymen. To him Sweden was indebted for deliverance from a foreign yoke, and the oppreſſions of a tyrant; for the abolition of an elective, and the eſtabliſhment of an hereditary monarchy, and for the introduction of the proteſtant religion. An inſcription upon the tomb informs us, that Guſtavus was born in 1490, choſen adminiſtrator of Sweden 1520, elected king 1523, crowned 1528, and died in 1560, in the 70th year of his age, and in the 40th of a glorious reign. Equally great as a legiſlator, a warrior, and a politician,

* Perinſk. Mon. Ullarakenſia, p. 18.

† There were four pyramids; but one having fallen down, there are only three remaining.

he

he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every ſtation; whether we conſider his cool intrepidity and enterpriſing ſpirit, his honeſt integrity and political foreſight, his talents for legiſlation, his attachment to letters, and encouragement of learning, his affability, and his ſolid and enlightened piety. Theſe great qualities, ſet off by a graceful and majeſtic perſon, and heightened by the moſt commanding eloquence, drew general eſteem and admiration; and it may be juſtly ſaid of him, that the moſt arbitrary monarch never exerciſed a more unbounded ſway over his vaſſals, than Guſtavus poſſeſſed from the voluntary affection of his free-born ſubjects. In a word, he was a ſovereign who was eſteemed by foreigners no leſs than by his own people, by contemporaries as well as by poſterity, one of the wiſeſt and beſt that ever adorned a throne. Beſide ſeveral inſcriptions, and a Latin epitaph in Hexameter verſe, two genealogical tables are engraved upon the tomb, which trace his lineage from the antient princes of the North; as if his great virtues did not reflect, rather than borrow, luſtre upon the moſt conſpicuous anceſtry. Guſtavus is the father of a line of kings, called from him the Houſe of Vaſa, whoſe poſterity ſtill ſways the Swediſh ſceptre.

In

I. Gus

II. Eric
1568
rine

Gustavu
b. 1568
d. in R
1607.

Ladisla
of P

III. Gu
b.
S
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VOL.

In an adjoining chapel repoſe the aſhes of his ſecond ſon John the Third, who aſcended the throne of Sweden in 1568. He did not owe his elevation to his own eminent qualities, but ſolely to the inſanity of his brother Eric, whom he depoſed. This uxorious ſovereign, the degenerate ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, ſoon loſt the affection of his ſubjects by his imprudent conduct, and by his attempts to bring back Sweden to the Roman Catholic religion. His tender conſcience, though it did not prevent him from poiſoning his brother Eric, yet induced him to pay a ſcrupulous obedience to the ridiculous penance* ordered by the pope for the commiſſion of the murder. Though a bigot in all ſects, he ſeems to have formed no ſettled principles of religion, but became by turns a Proteſtant and a Catholic, as he was governed by perſons of different perſuaſions. During his father's reign he was a zealous Lutheran; while his firſt wife Catharine lived, a ſincere Catholic; on his ſecond marriage with a Swediſh lady, who was a Lutheran, his zeal for the eſtabliſhment of the Roman doctrines ſubſided; and at his death he expreſſed indifference for the introduction of the new liturgy, which he had before enforced to the hazard of a civil war. A ſhort epitaph,

* Namely, to faſt one day in the week; a penance which, it is ſaid, he never omitted. Dahlin, vol. 4. p. 80.

after

after an exaggerated deſcription of his military reputation, aſcribes to John an accompliſhment which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, the knowledge of languages. It might have added, an extenſive erudition in all branches of literature, (more indeed*, according to the expreſſion of a Swediſh hiſtorian, than became a ſovereign,) a graceful perſon, and the moſt winning affability of manners. He died in 1592, neither regretted nor eſteemed; conſigning to his ſon Sigiſmond, king of Poland, together with his unpopularity and ſuperſtition, the ſceptre of Sweden without authority; a precarious poſſeſſion, ſoon to be ſeized by the father† of Guſtavus Adolphus.

Under a ſuperb monument erected by her doating huſband, is depoſited the body of Catharine Jaghellon, princeſs of Poland, and conſort of John the Third, a woman of great beauty and elegant manners. By her unfortunate aſcendancy over her uxorious lord, ſhe occaſioned the religious feuds which diſgraced his adminiſtration; and, by inſtilling intolerant principles into her ſon Sigiſmond, entailed on this kingdom all the civil troubles which diſtracted his

* Dahlin.

† Charles IX. fourth ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, who is leſs known for his own merits, which were highly deſerving of a crown, than as the father of a hero who gave law to Europe.

reign,

reign, and terminated in the loſs of his Swediſh crown. Her death, which happened in 1583, was friendly to the peace of Sweden; as her compliant huſband, no longer inflamed by her preſence, cooled in his zeal to force Popery upon his ſubjects; and the heats of religious diſpute, which ſhe had kindled into a flame, for a time ſubſided.

In a ſmall chapel is the ſepulchre of the Stures, that illuſtrious family whoſe extinction has been already related. The aſhes of the three Stures, who fell a ſacrifice to the tyranny of Eric, are diſtinguiſhed by a monument, erected by the widow of count Svante; it contains, beſides ſeveral epitaphs in hexameter verſe, a pathetic inſcription in Latin proſe: "This is the burial-place of the laſt remaining branch of the Stures, whoſe antient and royal lineage was illuſtrated by Steno, Svante, and Steno, three ſucceſſive adminiſtrators of Sweden, deſervedly ſtyled, for their merits and virtues, Fathers of their country. But Svante, ſon of the latter Steno, raiſed to the dignity of count at the coronation of Eric XIV. and his ſons Nicholas and Eric, both eminent in war and peace, fell victims to a violent death on the 4th of May, 1566. All that was great and noble could not ſoothe the iron heart of their ſovereign. Reader! if thou art not

equally unfeeling, deplore the unmerited cataſtrophe of ſuch exalted virtue."

A tomb, erected in honour of count Oxenſtiern, has been miſtaken by ſome travellers for that which covers the aſhes of Axel, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden; one of the greateſt men that Sweden, fertile in great men, ever produced. But his remains were depoſited in another place*. The perſon who lies interred in this cathedral is his nephew Benedict Oxenſtiern, who ſeems to have inherited the political abilities and great integrity of his uncle. Benedict was born in 1623, and enjoyed the favour of four ſucceſſive ſovereigns. After filling ſeveral great employments, he was raiſed, in 1688, to the high office of chancellor, and died in 1702, in full poſſeſſion of his maſter's confidence and the people's eſteem.

Falko, the firſt archbiſhop who was interred in this church, was a great benefactor to the ſee, and is the ſame perſon mentioned in the former part of this chapter, who, in 1273, transferred the epiſcopal ſeat from Old to New Upſala. He alſo cauſed the bones of his predeceſſors to be tranſported from their burial-place in Old Upſala,

* Axel Oxenſtiern died at Stockholm in Auguſt 1654; and his remains were interred at Tyholm, in the family vault. Mem. de Chriſtine, vol. I. p. 483.

to

to the cathedral; where they were depoſited with great ſolemnity*.

The firſt Proteſtant archbiſhop was Laurentius Petri, of the province of Nerike, who, in conjunction with his brother Olaus Petri, firſt preached the reformed doctrines to the Swedes, and tranſlated the Bible into his native tongue. Soon after the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation, the introduction of which was greatly owing to his labours, he was conſecrated archbiſhop, and continued to fill the ſee with credit until his death, in 1570, in the 73d year of his age.

In the ſacriſtary of the cathedral are preſerved ſeveral relics, both ſacred and hiſtorical, ſome of which I ſhall particularize, from their alluſion to the hiſtory of Sweden. The firſt is an old log of wood rudely carved into the reſemblance of a head ſcarcely human, and called the image of the god Thor, formerly worſhipped in theſe parts, and to whom human ſacrifices were offered at Old Upſala. Dahlberg, in his *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna*, has given an engraving of this rude figure, far too elegant to bear much reſemblance to the original; but a more accurate delineation is to be found in Perinſkiold's *Monumenta Ullarekarenſia*, in which no embelliſhments are added.

* Perinſkiold, p. 135.

A whetſtone, ſeveral feet in length, next attracted my attention; which, according to tradition, was ſent by Albert, king of Sweden, in mockery to Margaret, recommending her to ſharpen on it her own ſword, and the weapons of her army: a taunt which he would willingly have retracted, when routed and taken priſoner by the very woman whom he affected to deſpiſe.

The third curioſity was a ragged ſtripe of linen, faſtened to a ſtaff like a pair of colours, called the ſhift of Margaret, which was carried in battle as the main ſtandard, to animate the troops by the recollection of her martial ſpirit. Theſe remains were preſerved at Nuremberg, brought from thence when that town was taken by the Swedes, and depoſited in the cathedral of Upſala, in honour of the Semiramis of the north. How this ſhift was firſt procured by the inhabitants of Nuremberg, why it was there conſidered as a relic, and the exact period of its importation into Sweden, I muſt leave to be aſcertained by thoſe who are diſpoſed to trace its hiſtory and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it ever had the honour of giving a name to a particular colour, like the ſhift of Iſabella queen of Caſtile*.

The

* Iſabella made a vow that ſhe would not change her linen until Grenada, which ſhe thought would be captured in a few days,

The kings of Sweden were formerly crowned in this cathedral; but that ceremony is now performed at Stockholm, Ulrica Eleonora being the laſt ſovereign who was inaugurated at Upſala.

Upſala is celebrated for its univerſity, the moſt antient in Sweden. In 1246 Birger Jarl eſtabliſhed a ſchool at this place; and in 1478 Steno Sture, adminiſtrator of Sweden, laid the firſt foundation of the univerſity; the plan of which had been formed, but not carried into execution, by Eric of Pomerania; the regulations were modelled after thoſe of Paris. The inſtitution was confirmed in a diet which met at Strængnæs on the 2d of July; and the univerſity was opened with due ceremony on the 7th of October*. Guſtavus Vaſa warmly patronized it, as the place in which he completed his education; and conferred on it ſo many additional privileges; and endowed it in ſo ample a manner, that he is juſtly called its ſecond founder. Under John III. it was transferred to Stockholm; but again reſtored to Upſala by Charles IX.† During the conſtant wars in which Charles was engaged with his rival Sigiſmond king of Poland,

days, was taken. The ſiege being prolonged for a conſiderable time, the dirty hue of the ſhift was conſidered as ſacred, and the tint received the name of *Iſabel* or Roan.

* Dahlin, vol. II. p. 610.

† Meſſ. Scop. Illuſ. Tom. IV. p. 37. Dahlin.

it conſiderably declined; but was again revived by Guſtavus Adolphus, whoſe extenſive knowledge and protection of letters are loſt in the ſplendour of his military atchievements. That great monarch, beſide conſtructing a large building at his own expence, endowed the univerſity with his patrimonial eſtate of Vaſa; by which donation the ſalaries of the profeſſors were augmented, and 150 ſtudents maintained. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors, as well as by ſeveral individuals; and the number of ſcholars has been conſiderably increaſed.

At the head of the univerſity is a chancellor (who is always a perſon of high rank and conſequence), choſen by the profeſſors, and confirmed by the king: he regulates and explains the ſtatutes, compoſes all material differences, and delivers petitions and meſſages from the body to the king. When abſent, his office is ſupplied by the archbiſhop of Upſala. The preſidency devolves by rotation on one of the profeſſors, who is ſtyled *Rector Magnificus:* he is a kind of juſtice of peace, can puniſh the ſtudents for ſmall delinquencies, by impriſonment, and ſettles ſuch differences as are too trifling to be laid before the conſiſtory.

The univerſity has its own court of juſtice, called *Conſiſtorium Minus*, for the trial of the ſtudents and dependents: it is compoſed of a certain

certain number of profeſſors, and judges miſdemeanors according to common law. An appeal lies from its deciſion to a *Conſiſtorium Majus*, which is formed by all the profeſſors, and in the laſt reſort to the provincial court of juſtice. The profeſſors are about twenty-four, of whom the principal are thoſe of divinity, eloquence, botany, anatomy, chymiſtry, natural philoſophy, aſtronomy, and agriculture. Their ſalaries are from £.70 to £.100 per annum. On a vacancy, one of three candidates, preſented by their body, is nominated by the king. During each term the profeſſors give four public lectures in the week *gratis*, and the ſame number of private lectures, for which they receive from each of thoſe who attend, the ſtipulated ſum of five ſhillings. A profeſſor, who has continued in office for the ſpace of thirty years, is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*, and enjoys his ſalary during life.

Students are admitted into the univerſity at the age of ſixteen, for the completion of their academical ſtudies. They do not inhabit, as in our univerſities, any diſtinct college or colleges; but lodge in the town, and repair to the lectures of the profeſſors, either at their houſes, or at the public halls. The poorer ſtudents are aſſiſted in their expences by ſcholarſhips, called *ſtipendia*; ſome founded by the crown, others by private

perſons, but generally allotted for the natives of particular provinces. The higheſt in value of theſe ſcholarſhips amounts to about £. 18 per annum.

The common degrees, granted by this univerſity, are *Philoſophiæ Candidatus*, which anſwers to Bachelor of Arts; and *Philoſophiæ Magiſter*, to Maſter of Arts. A ſtudent ought to be 24 years of age, to receive his firſt degree; but this rule is not ſtrictly obſerved. He muſt undergo ſeveral examinations from various profeſſors, and compoſe a Latin theſis, which he is bound to defend in the ſchools. Having taken his firſt degree, he may commence his exerciſes for the ſecond, which conſiſt in another Latin theſis, in holding a public diſputation, and reading a lecture in the ſame language. The graduates in divinity, law, and phyſic, are ſtyled *Theologiæ*, &c. *Candidatus*, *Licentiatus*, and *Doctor*. The doctors of law and phyſic, in order to obtain their diplomas, paſs certain examinations, and hold public acts in their reſpective profeſſions, ſomewhat ſimilar to thoſe paſſed by the maſters of arts; the ſame forms are required from the doctors of divinity; unleſs, as is the uſual practice, they are created on the king's mandate.

There is no academical diſcipline; the ſtudents being only liable to be puniſhed by the preſident

preſident and conſiſtory, according to the common law, for miſdemeanors and delinquencies. One inſtitution, however, preſerves ſome degree of order and ſubordination, the diviſion of the ſtudents into provincial claſſes according to their reſpective counties. Each claſs has a profeſſor at its head, called *Inſpector*, and two ſubdirectors, ſtyled *Curatores:* the other members are divided into *Seniores* and *Juniores*; the former of whom, in ſome meaſure, regulate the conduct of the latter. Each claſs aſſembles ſeparately, in the houſe of the particular profeſſor, at leaſt ſix times a year, and oftener if occaſion requires. At theſe meetings the junior ſtudents paſs certain exerciſes, which they, who do not perform, cannot be raiſed to the rank of ſeniors.

Though the ſtudents have no regular dreſs; yet, on certain occaſions, and particularly when they take their maſter's degree, they appear in a black ſilk cloak; they ought alſo, according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity, to wear the ſame dreſs when they keep their acts; but for this omiſſion they uſually pay a ſmall fine. The profeſſors are, on days of ceremony, clad in black cloaks; the doctors of divinity are diſtinguiſhed by a hat of black ſilk; the doctors of law by one of white; and thoſe of phyſic by one of green or ſky-blue. The number of ſtudents varies every

every year, as in all fluctuating bodies; but on an average may be ſtated at five hundred *.

	Spring Term.			Auguſt Term.		
	Admiſſions.	N° of Students.		Admiſſions.	N° of Students.	Acts.
In 1768	79	557	—	99	493	31
1769	94	552	—	116	568	54
1770	127	649	—	87	461	68
1771	106	492	—	88	488	45
1772	99	538	—	97	470	44
1773	130	569	—	83	563	62
1774	137	604	—	102	594	36
1775	133	628	—	115	657	64
1776	103	575	—	110	514	91
1777	115	531	—	113	541	51

During this period of ten years, were created 40 doctors in divinity, 23 in phyſic, and 151 in arts.

This univerſity, juſtly called by Stillingfleet, "that great, and hitherto unrivalled ſchool of natural hiſtory," is the firſt ſeminary of the North for academical education, and has produced perſons eminent in every branch of ſcience. The learned publications given to the world by its members, prove the flouriſhing ſtate of literature, and the theſes compoſed by the ſtudents on their admiſſion to their degrees, would form an intereſting collection.

* Chronick der Univerſitat Upſala in Schloetzer's Briefwechſel, III. p. 166.

Many

Many of these tracts, on various subjects of polite literature, antiquities, languages, &c. which have fallen under my observation, evince the erudition and taste of the respective authors. Among the works, which have widely diffused the fame of this learned society throughout Europe, are the *Amœnitates Academicæ*, or a collection of theses on Natural History, held under the celebrated Linnæus, and chiefly selected by that able master. Dr. Pulteney, in the View of his Writings, gives an account of this work: "In the year 1749 was published the first volume of a collection of Theses in octavo, under the title of *Amœnitates Academicæ*, seu *Dissertationes variæ, Physicæ, Medicæ, et Botanicæ*. This publication has been continued, from time to time, to the completion of the seventh volume in the year 1769. These volumes, as soon as published, were regularly reprinted in Germany and Holland. It is supposed the first volume was not originally collected by Linnæus himself; but he at least reprinted it very early; and, that he might not be defrauded of the advantage of these publications, became the editor of all the succeeding volumes. These academical dissertations being recited before Linnæus in his professional character, and selected by himself, have been regarded as nearly of equal authority with his own writings; and

and many of them illuſtrate and exemplify divers parts of his works; the ſubjects having been ſelected by himſelf in many inſtances for that purpoſe *."

The library contains many valuable books and manuſcripts. Olaus Gelſius informs † us, that it owes its origin to Guſtavus Adolphus, who preſented the univerſity as well with his own private collection, which was very conſiderable, as with ſeveral libraries obtained in the different countries which he had over-run with his arms; it being his cuſtom to reſerve for himſelf, in all towns taken by ſtorm, the books eſpecially, as his ſhare of the plunder. Thus the Jeſuits' library at Riga, that at Wurſtenburgh, and thoſe of many other conquered towns in Poland, Germany, and Pruſſia, were tranſmitted to Upſala. His example was followed by his ſucceſſors; and the victorious arms of Sweden enriched the kingdom with theſe literary acquiſitions. Olaus mentions Chriſtina as a conſiderable benefactreſs, and enumerates many private donors; among whom the moſt conſpicuous are count Magnus de la Gardie, and Sparwenfieldt, the learned traveller ‡, whoſe curious collection, conſiſting, among others, of many rare Arabian,

* General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 45. p. 221—373.
† Bib. Upſal. Hiſtoria.
‡ Catalogus Centuriæ Lib. rariſſ. &c.

Syriac,

Syriac, and Coptic manuſcripts, was thought worthy of a ſeparate publication.

Among the moſt valuable pieces of literary curioſity is a manuſcript of the Four Goſpels, called, from its ſilver letters, *Codex Argenteus*, and ſuppoſed to be a copy of the Gothic tranſlation made by Ulphilas, the apoſtle of the Goths, in the fourth century. This curious volume is of a quarto ſize; the leaves, which I ſcarcely know whether to call vellum, parchment, or papyrus *, are ſtained with a violet colour; and on this ground the letters, which are all capitals, were afterwards painted in ſilver, excepting the initial characters, and a few paſſages in gold. I was convinced, from a cloſe inſpection, that each letter was painted, and not formed †, as ſome authors have aſſerted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and ſilver. Moſt of the ſilver characters were become green by time; but the golden letters are ſtill in good preſervation. The Codex is mutilated in ſeveral

* Le Long Bib. Sac. where it is called by different perſons, Codex Membranaceus, Codicem in pergameno, Codex in papyro exaratus. In the Bib. Up. Codex membrana rubra, p. 116. By Michaelis, a manuſcript on vellum, p. 160.

† They appeared to me to be drawn, or painted, in the ſame manner as the initial letters in ſeveral of the fineſt Miſſals, and not ſtamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the book-binders at preſent letter the backs of books. See North. Ant. vol. I. p. 367.

places;

places; but what remains is, for the moſt part, perfectly legible.

This manuſcript was, in 1597, firſt diſcovered in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Werden in Weſtphalia, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted a few paſſages, which were inſerted in a Commentary on the Gothic alphabet, publiſhed by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Soon afterwards Arnold Mercator obſerved it in the ſame library; and tranſcribed a few verſes, which Gruter* gave to the world in his *Inſcriptiones Antiquæ*. From the Abbey of Werden it was transferred to Prague, during the ſhort period in which that town was occupied by Frederic, Elector Palatine. At the capture of Prague, in 1648, it was found among the literary ſpoils by count Konigſmark, and ſent as a moſt valuable preſent to Chriſtina. The queen is ſaid to have given it to Iſaac Voſſius; but moſt probably the crafty Dutchman took it without permiſſion, among many other rare books and manuſcripts, when he pillaged† her majeſty's library during the confuſion which preceded her

* Gruter, Inſ. Ant. p. 146. He calls it Gothica vel. Germanica. The curious reader, who compares the text in Gruter with that of the ſimilar paſſages in Lye, will obſerve conſiderable inaccuracies in the former.

† Memoires de Chriſtine, vol. I. p. 308. In the library at Leyden is ſtill preſerved a curious collection, called *Furta Voſſiana*, which he is ſuppoſed to have pillaged from Chriſtina's library.

abdication.

abdication. On the death of Voſſius it was purchaſed by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, for £.250, and preſented to the univerſity of Upſala.

Three editions of the *Codex Argenteus* have been given to the public; the firſt printed at Dort, the ſecond at Stockholm, and the third at Oxford. The firſt was iſſued at Dort in 1665, by Francis Junius, who borrowed the manuſcript from Voſſius, and accompanied with obſervations and a Gloſſary, by Thomas Marſhall. In this edition the text was a *fac ſimile* of the original*. The ſecond edition, publiſhed at Stockholm, 1672, by the learned Stiernhelm, differs from that of Junius, in giving the text in Latin, and not in Gothic characters. Notwithſtanding the reputation of thoſe two learned editors for critical ſkill and exactneſs; yet Benzelius, firſt librarian of the univerſity, and afterwards archbiſhop of Upſala, comparing their texts with the original, diſcovered ſo many falſe readings and omiſſions, that he again collated the manuſcript, rectified the miſtakes, and made a literal tranſlation in the Latin tongue. And as the Gothic types of the firſt edition publiſhed

* Another impreſſion of this work is ſuppoſed to have been printed at Amſterdam in 1672; but this is in reality the ſame as the former, with nothing more than another title-page, affixing a new date and place of impreſſion, according to a fraud not unfrequent among bookſellers.

by

by Junius were preſerved at Oxford; he tranſmitted theſe collations and tranſlation, together with various obſervations, to Mr. Edward Lye of Oxford, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his knowledge of the antient Northern languages*. The work was cheerfully undertaken, and faithfully executed, by that judicious ſcholar; and the third edition made its appearance in 1750, from the Clarendon preſs. To the obſervations of Benzelius, Lye added many learned remarks on the text and verſion, and a Gothic Grammar. This impreſſion is eſteemed, by thoſe who have compared it with the original Codex, a complete work, and redounding greatly to the honour of the editor's accuracy.

The *Codex Argenteus* has given riſe to a curious controverſy among the learned. In the examination of this manuſcript, different perſons have fancied a ſimilitude in the characters to thoſe of the Greek, Latin, Finniſh, Runic, Daniſh, German, or Gothic; each adopting an opinion according to his favourite hypotheſis, and referring its original to the anceſtors of his own country. Nor is this a matter of ſurpriſe: for as the barbarous nations, who were converted to Chriſtianity by the Greeks and Romans,

* Hiſt. Bib. Up.

received

received from them either a new alphabet, or, at leaſt, ſeveral new characters, moſt of the antient letters uſed by the Goths, Franks, Huns, Sclavonians, and other bordering nations, muſt bear in many points a great affinity to each other; ſo that a framer of a fanciful ſyſtem may conceive a reſemblance in the whole, which exiſts only in a few parts. But without entering into an enquiry which may lead us too far, the queſtion concerning the original tongue of the *Codex Argenteus* is reduced to two opinions; the firſt, that it is written in the language and character uſed in the fourth century by the Goths of Mæſia, anceſtors of the preſent Swedes, and is a true copy of the verſion made by Ulphilas; the ſecond, that it is a tranſlation in the Frankiſh idiom.

The firſt opinion is ſtrongly ſupported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzelius, and Lye; the ſecond, as warmly defended by Hickes, La Croze, Wetſtein, and Michaelis. To enter into a diſcuſſion of all the arguments advanced on both ſides with equal erudition, would require a larger compaſs than the nature of this work will admit; and to give a partial abſtract would only invalidate their reſpective ſtrength. This much is certain, that as the reaſonings admit of no poſitive evidence on either ſide, but are chiefly drawn from vague conjec-

tures, an unprejudiced inquirer will find it no eaſy matter to form a deciſive and ſatisfactory judgment. I ſhall refer, therefore, the inquiſitive reader, for further information, to the ſeveral writers on this ſubject; but I am inclined to believe, that the Codex Argenteus* is a copy of the very original verſion made by Ulphilas in the Gothic idiom. I was induced to form this opinion, from the arguments of Benzelius and Lye, in the Preface to the Oxford edition†; and eſpecially from a very ingenious treatiſe, publiſhed by Ihre‡, by which it appears that ſeveral ſpecimens of the Oſtrogothic tongue have been lately diſcovered in Italy, which perfectly reſemble both the characters and language of the verſion in the *Codex Argenteus*.

But to whichſoever ſide we may incline, as both the Gothic and Frankiſh idioms were dialects of the Teutonic or German; this manuſcript muſt be conſidered as the moſt antient

* See the ſeveral editions of the Codex Argenteus by Junius, Stiernhelm, and Lye. Hickes Gramm. Mæſo Gothica in his Theſaurus Ling. Sept. La Croze Diſſ. Philol. at the end of Chamberlayne's Orat. Dom. p. 136. Wettſtein's Proleg. in Nov. Teſt. ſect. 68 to 71. Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 116 to 123. Le Long, Bib. Sac. Vol. II. p. 140 and 538.

† Preface to Lye's Sac. Evan. Vers. Goth.

‡ Monumentum veteris linguæ Oſtrogothicæ, Neapoli haud pridem repertum, &c. In Act. Nov. Reg. Soc. Scien. Upſal. Vol. III. See alſo Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 204.

ſpecimen

ſpecimen extant of that language. Its antiquity has been unqueſtionably proved without a diſſenting voice. They who attribute the verſion to Ulphilas, muſt refer its date to the middle of the fourth century; and even thoſe authors* who deem the manuſcript a Frankiſh tranſlation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Chilperic, between 564 and 587. Its high antiquity is proved, as well from the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in the thirteenth verſe of the ſixth chapter of St. Matthew, which is not found in any of the moſt antient verſions; as from the interpretation of many paſſages in a ſimilar manner with ſeveral of the Latin tranſlations, which are antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerom† Another circumſtance worthy of notice, and which enhances its value, is, that it was undoubtedly tranſlated from the original Greek, and not from any of the Latin verſions‡. I will not detain the reader with idle conjectures from Watchterus§, that this ſplendid Codex belonged to Alaric, the

* La Croze and Michaelis. The latter has, I am informed, changed his opinion; and in the ſecond edition of his Lectures on the New Teſtament, which I have not yet met with, agrees with Mr. Ihre.

† Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. II. p. 142.

‡ Prefatio in Lye, cap. ii.; and Michaelis's Lectures, p. 165.

§ Bib. Up. Hiſt. p. 118.

Gothic king of Toulouſe; or of Papebroch*, that it was the identical exemplar which the emperor Valens preſented to Fritigern, general of the Viſigoths eſtabliſhed in Mæſia; but ſhall conclude by obſerving, that to whomſoever it belonged, or by whomſoever tranſlated, it muſt be conſidered as a work of great authority, and a literary treaſure of high antiquity †.

In this library two original manuſcripts of the unfortunate Eric XIV. caught my attention. They are in Latin, and were compoſed in 1565 and 1567, a ſhort time before his depoſition. They contain aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological, obſervations and predictions, written with his own hand, after daily examination of the ſtate of the heavenly bodies. The names of his brothers occur frequently, accompanied with ſtrong marks of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt, and the deaths of ſeveral perſons are predicted. Some hiſtorical facts are blended occaſionally with the obſervations. Theſe notes afford a convincing proof of the diſtracted ſtate of Eric's

* Le Long, Vol. II. p. 531.

† Another fragment of this curious manuſcript, containing a few chapters of St. Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbuttle, and is now preſerved in the library of that town, where I ſaw it in 1777. The original letters were partly eraſed and written upon. See Nonnulla Cap. Epiſ. Pauli ad Rom. publiſhed at Brunſwick by Fran. Anton. Knitell.

mind,

mind, and at the ſame time diſcover evident traces of his extenſive erudition.

On examining a few of his notes, I was ſtruck with the reſemblance between him and the emperor Rhodolph the Second. Both ſovereigns began their reigns with the faireſt hopes; both were not only zealous protectors of learning, but even men of letters themſelves, as well verſed in polite literature, as ſkilled in the abſtruſer ſciences*; both were ſtrongly addicted to judicial aſtrology, and drew from the various combinations of the heavenly bodies a preſage of good or ill fortune. Both were jealous of their relations and ſubjects, and both were depoſed by their brothers, whom they had driven by their ſuſpicions to conſpire againſt them. Rodolph, however, was not guilty of ſuch exceſſes and cruelties as diſgrace the reign of Eric; but both were incapable of governing, though endowed with excellent underſtandings, and deeply verſed in ſcience.

This library contains few curious manuſcripts

* Celſius ſays of Eric XIV. "Erat ille plurimis ſcientiis ita inſtructus, ut majorem certe a literis quam a ſceptro gloriam reportaverit." Bib. Upſ. Hiſt. p. 4. And Voltaire ſays as juſtly of Rhodolph II. "La philoſophie qu'il cultivait, lui avait appris tout ce qu'on pouvait ſavoir alors, excepté à remplir ſes devoirs de Souverain. Il aimait beaucoup mieux s'inſtruire avec le fameux Ticho Brahe, que tenir les etats de Hongrie et de Boheme." Hiſt. Univ. c. 147.

of the claſſics; but the printed editions are numerous and good. Having deſired the librarian to ſhew me the firſt book printed in Sweden; he pointed out *Dialogus Creaturarum moralizatus*, publiſhed at Stockholm in 1483, by John Snell, a German printer, invited into Sweden by the adminiſtrator Steno Sture.

Before I cloſe this account of the univerſity library, I muſt notice a beautiful cabinet of ebony and cypreſs, ornamented with precious ſtones, which was preſented in 1632, by the city of Augſburgh to Guſtavus Adolphus. It contains, among other curioſities, a large agate, two ſpans long, and one and a half broad. On one part of the ſtone is painted the Day of Judgment, and on another the Paſſage of the Iſraelites through the Red Sea. The figures are in a good ſtyle of colouring, ſimilar to that uſed by the German painters, immediate ſucceſſors of Albert Durer. The artiſt has ingeniouſly expreſſed the clouds and water by the natural tints of the ſtone; which repreſent, with great effect, the wall of water ſuſpended for a paſſage to the Iſraelites, and the waves rolling back on Pharaoh and his hoſt. The artiſt, whoſe name was John King, has drawn his own portrait lying at the feet of the pope among the bleſt in heaven.

I hold myſelf greatly indebted to the polite attention

attention of Mr. Eric Michael Fant, ſub-librarian, who kindly accompanied me to the library, favoured me with much information, and preſented me with ſeveral tracts on the Icelandic, Lapland, and other Northern languages, Celſius's account of the library of Upſala, and other rare diſſertations.

I waited, with a letter of recommendation, on Bergman, profeſſor of chymiſtry, whoſe reputation is deſervedly eſtabliſhed for his uſeful and accurate reſearches, as well in his own ſcience, as in every branch of natural hiſtory. The learned profeſſor received me with great politeneſs, and ſhewed me his cabinet, which is rich in Swediſh minerals. He obligingly communicated much intelligence in a long and intereſting converſation, which made me regret that my ſtay in Upſala was too ſhort, to derive any further information from a perſon of his general and accurate knowledge.

In anſwer to my inquiries concerning the ſtate of the Swediſh mines, he informed me, the produce of the gold mines, though very inconſiderable, is remarkable for yielding the native ore in a calcareous matrix. Thoſe of ſilver are ſomewhat more profitable; but the quantity of ore is lately much diminiſhed. With reſpect to the iron mines, the moſt important of all the native productions of Sweden, thoſe of Dane-

mora are the fineſt for the quality of the metal, although not ſo rich as ſeveral in Lapland, which ſometimes produce even 90 pounds of pure iron in a hundred weight of ore. The pooreſt of Danemora yield 30 pounds per cent. and the richeſt from 60 to 70. The iron of this celebrated mine is in the higheſt eſtimation, and chiefly exported to England for the ſteel manufactures. The matrix of the ore is a calcareous earth, a remarkable circumſtance, which, in conjunction with other cauſes not yet diſcovered, is perhaps one occaſion of the ſuperior quality of its metal. In general, he added, the iron mines are found to run in veins; a few in Lapland excepted, which do not branch out in longitudinal directions, but conſiſt of immenſe maſſes of ore*. I next inquired concerning the quantity of granite rock, which was obſervable in different parts of Sweden, as well lying in detached maſſes, as forming ridges of mountains; the profeſſor made anſwer, that

* To theſe may be added the noted mountain Taberg in Smaland, which is one maſs of rich iron ore. It is above 400 feet high, and three Engliſh miles in circumference. A deſcription of this mountain, and a view of it, ſent by Dr. Aſcanius to the late Mr. Peter Collinſon, was publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, Vol. 49. There is alſo an account of this inſulated maſs of ore in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, Vol. 21. for the year 1760, communicated by M. Thas. This mine has been worked for the laſt 200 years.

granite

granite is the basis of the country, particularly of the Northern parts; hills of gravel and sand, and calcareous stone, containing petrefactions of shells, are indeed not unfrequent, but generally repose on granite. The granite is both red and grey; the red more readily crumbles and decomposes by the lapse of time; and almost all the old Runic monuments existing in the country are of the grey species, which is by far the most durable*.

The Royal Society at Upsala, the oldest literary academy of that kind in the North, took its rise in 1720. Benzelius†, librarian to the university, and afterwards archbishop of Upsala, undertook, in conjunction with other learned men, a review, as well of all books published in Sweden, or by Swedes abroad, as of those works printed in foreign countries, which had any relation to this kingdom. As this publication contained, beside the mere reviews, a few original acts, it was called *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*, and

* For some account of professor Bergman's works, see Chapter 7, of this book.

† Eric Benzelius was born at Upsala in 1673, where he began and completed his studies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upsala in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the university, an office which he held for 22 years. In 1724 he was nominated professor of divinity; afterwards successively created bishop of Gotheborg, Lindkioping, and archbishop of Upsala. He died in 1743, aged 70. Celsii Bib. Up. Hist. p. 149.

was

was conducted on this plan for ten years. In 1730, the tranſactions being no longer confined to a review of books, but conſiſting of original acts and diſſertations; the ſociety, patronized by the king, ſtyled itſelf in the dedication to his majeſty, *Societas Regia*, and the tranſactions, which came out annually, *Acta Literaria et Scientiarum Sueciæ*. In 1740, it aſſumed the title of *Societas Regia Literaria et Scientiarum Upſalienſis*, adopting the laſt expreſſion inſtead of *Sueciæ*, to diſtinguiſh it from the Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, which was denominated *Academia Regia Sueciæ*. The ſociety continued its publications on the ſame plan until 1750, when it ceaſed; but was again revived in 1773, at which period the tranſactions were iſſued under the title of *Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upſalienſis*. Theſe acts make their appearance in ſeparate parts, which are only put forth occaſionally, as there is a ſufficient number of diſſertations, and as the ſociety, which has no fund, can afford the expence of printing. They are all written in the Latin tongue, and printed in quarto. The original numbers, iſſued from 1720 to 1750, are comprixed in ſix volumes. Many of theſe diſſertations have conſiderable merit: they diſcuſs a great variety of ſubjects, as well relative to the hiſtory, antiquities, and languages of the North,

as

as to natural hiſtory; and contain ſeveral papers written by Linnæus and Bergman.

Before I quitted Upſala, I made an excurſion to the place where the kings of Sweden were antiently elected: it lies about ſeven miles from the town, in the middle of a plain called Mora, and is ſtill marked by the remains of mutilated ſtones, one of which is known by the appellation of *Moraſteen*, or the Stone of Mora; on which the ſovereigns were enthroned with due ſolemnity, and received the homage of their ſubjects. The name of the ſovereign and date of the enthronement were at the ſame time inſcribed on another ſtone, as a public memorial of the election. This appears from a curious certificate* made by a public notary,

* "In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a Nativitate ejuſdem MCDXXX, III Die Menſis Maii, hora veſperarum vel quaſi Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris ac Domini D. Eugenii Papæ IV. Anno IV. in nova domo Capitulari ante Valvas Eccleſiæ Upſalenſis ſita, in mei notarii publici teſtiumque ſubſcriptorum præſentia perſonaliter conſtitutus venerabilis D. Petrus, archiepiſcopus eccleſiæ Upſalenſis, nomine & ex parte capituli dictæ eccleſiæ Upſal ibidem tunc congregati me notarium ſubſcriptum requiſivit, ut aſſumptis iiſdem teſtibus accederem ad lapidem vulgariter dictum Morafteen, in quo & ſuper quem Reges Sueciæ de novo electi ſatim poſt eorum electionem conſueverunt ab antiquiſſimis temporibus ſublimari & inthroniſari, inveſtigaturus ibidem annum electionis in Regem Sueciæ illuſtriſſimi principis domini Erici Regis moderni, ego memoratus notarius infra ſcriptus una cum teſtibus ſubſcriptis

notary, who, in 1480, at the requeſt of the archbiſhop of Upſala, examined the *Moraſteen*, to aſcertain the year in which Eric of Pomerania was raiſed to the throne. When I viſited the ſpot, I obſerved ten ſtones, the largeſt, which tradition reports to be the Moraſteen, was only ſix ſpans long, two broad, and two thick. I traced upon ſeveral the figures of a croſs and globe coarſely carved, and on one, in particular, which was very antient, the three crowns, the arms of Sweden. I diſcovered a few veſtiges of inſcriptions, ſeemingly in Gothic characters; but too imperfect to be decyphered *.

ſubſcriptis ſtatim ad dictum lapidem Moraſteen extra civitatem Upſalenſem ad unum milliare in plano campo ſitum acceſſi et honorabilem virum D. Johannem Matthiæ, curatum eccleſiæ Denmark, quæ dicto lapidi vicina eſt eccleſia, in teſtem aſſumpſi, et ſculpturam cujuſdam lapidis dicto antiquo lapidi Moraſteen ſuperimpoſiti diligenter inſpexi et per teſtes infra ſcriptos inſpici feci ſic præcisè, ut ſequitur, in eodem lapide inſculptum inveni. Anno Domini MCCCXCVI. electus eſt in Regem Sueciæ in hoc loco illuſtris Rex Dominus Ericus calendarum Auguſti (locus autem pro numero calendarum vacuus erat) ſuper quibus omnibus et ſingulis præfatus Petrus archiepiſcopus nomine, quo ſupra, me notarium publicum requiſivit ut unum vel plura, publicum vel publica ſuper præmiſſis conficerem inſtrumentum vel inſtrumenta." Holberg, Vol. I. p. 500.

* Some perſons have given an explanation of theſe inſcriptions, ſuch as the before-mentioned one of Eric; alſo A. D. 1448 d. 28, Junii electus eſt nobilis Vir. D; us: Carolus Canuti, Miles natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ. Dahlin, Vol. I. 167.

A few years ago these records of Swedish antiquity were covered only with a wooden shed; but are now preserved in a brick building, constructed at the king's expence in honour of his royal ancestors. A Swedish inscription on the inside walls enumerates the names of the sovereigns, who were enthroned on this spot. They are king Euge, 1060, with whom this custom is said to have originated; king Magnus Ladulas, D. 1.. 1276; Magnus Smek, D. 11,1319; Eric XIII. 1396; Christopher, 1441; Charles VIII. 1448; Christian I. 1457; Steno Sture, administrator of Sweden, 1512.

Olaus Magnus relates, that the *Morasteen* was placed in the midst of twelve other stones in a circle. Camden thus describes a similar monument near the village of Saint Buriens, in Cornwall. "Not far from hence, in a place called Biscaw-woune, are nineteen stones set in a circle, about twelve foot distant one from another; and in the centre there stands one much larger than any of the rest. One may probably conjecture this to have beeen some trophy of the Romans under the later emperors; or of Athelstan, the Saxon, after he had subdued Cornwall *." Olaus Wormius, however, more inge-

* Britannia, edit. 1695, p. 6.

niously

niously conjectures, from the similarity of this monument to the *Moraſteen*, and others in Sweden and Denmark, that it was the place where the antient Anglo-Saxon kings were elected and enthroned*.

* Monumenta Danica. p. 90.

CHAP. 7.

Botanical garden of Upſala.—Memoirs of Linnæus.

THE botanical garden of Upſala, to which place I had the pleaſure of being accompanied by the ſon of Linnæus, is ſmall, but laid out with judgment, and the collection of exotics is numerous. I regarded with enthuſiaſm this ſpot of ground, rendered celebrated by the reſidence of Linnæus; of whom it may be ſaid, without exaggeration, that, in the natural hiſtory of the globe, he left nothing unexplored.

I flatter myſelf, that many of the following anecdotes of this great naturaliſt are new to the Engliſh reader *.

Carl

* This account of Linnæus is chiefly extracted from a German tranſlation of his Commemoration-Speech, delivered on the 5th of December, 1778, by Dr. Bæck, in the king's preſence, before the Royal Academy of Sciences; and from anecdotes of his life by Fabricius. See Gedæchnitzrede Auf den Carl von Linnè, &c. von A. Bæck; and Einige nachere Umſtande aus dem Leben des Ritters von Linnè; von Johan Chriſtian Fabricius, in the Deutches Muſeum, for May and July 1780. Fabricius, the author of this account,

Carl Von Linnè, or, as he is known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldeſt ſon of Nils Linnæus, a Swediſh divine, was born on the 24th of May, 1707, at Raſhult, in the province of Smoland. His inclination for the ſtudies in which he afterwards made ſo wonderful a progreſs, commenced at an early period of his life, and took its riſe from the following circumſtance: His father uſed to amuſe himſelf in the garden of his parſonage with the cultivation of plants and flowers. Linnæus, while an infant, was ſoon led to take a ſhare in this occupation, and, before he was ſcarcely able to walk, expreſſed extreme ſatisfaction when permitted to accompany him into the garden. As his ſtrength increaſed, he delighted in digging and planting, and afterwards obtained for his own uſe a ſmall portion of ground, which was called Charles's garden. He ſoon learned to diſtinguiſh the different flowers, and, before he had attained the tenth year of his age, made ſmall excurſions in the neighbourhood of Raſhult, and brought many indigenous plants into his little garden.

account, was the diſciple of Linnæus, is now profeſſor of œconomy and natural hiſtory in the univerſity of Kiel; and may be juſtly called the firſt entomologiſt in Europe. He has diſtinguiſhed himſelf, among other publications, by Reiſe nach Norwegen.—Syſtema Entomologiæ.—Genera Inſectorum.—Philoſophiæ Entomologica.—Species Inſectorum.

Being

Being ſent, in 1717, to ſchool at Wexio, under the tuition of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permiſſion of continuing his excurſions, he paſſed his whole time in collecting plants, and learning their names and qualities. Abſorbed in this favourite purſuit, he totally diſregarded his other ſtudies, and made ſuch an inconſiderable progreſs, that, on his removal, in 1724, to the *gymnaſium* of Wexio, his new maſter repeatedly complained of his idleneſs. Urged by theſe remonſtrances, his father conceived his ſon to have no taſte for literature, and propoſed to bind him apprentice to a ſhoemaker*: this deſtination would have taken place, had not a neighbouring phyſician, Dr. Rothman†, ſtruck with the boy's great genius, predicted, that he would, in time, become deeply ſkilled in a ſcience, to which he was ſo ſtrongly attached. This ſagacious obſerver, having prevailed on the father of Linnæus to continue his ſon's education, took the boy into his houſe, ſupplied him with botanical books, and inſtructed him in the firſt rudiments of phyſic, in which he ſoon made a conſiderable progreſs. When his father had aſſented to this advice, he deſigned him for the church‡; and was not, without

* Fabricius. † Bæck.

‡ His mother, chagrined that her eldeſt ſon declined entering

without great difficulty, induced to agree that he ſhould apply himſelf to the ſtudy of botany and phyſic.

In 1727 he was ſent to the univerſity of Lund; where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the firſt ſyſtematic principles of natural hiſtory. Being lodged in the profeſſor's houſe, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement, particularly from a curious collection of foſſils, ſhells, birds, and plants. At this place he began to form an *herbarium*, collecting plants from all quarters, making repeated obſervations, and comparing them with the deſcriptions of Tournefort, whoſe works he had received as a preſent from Dr. Rothman*. During his reſidence at Lund, he proſecuted his ſtudies with ſuch unremitted attention, that he frequently continued them during great part of the night, to enjoy the uſe of ſeveral books which he ſecretly obtained from the profeſſor's library. Once in particular, Stobæus ſuſpecting that he had company at a late hour, ſtole unobſerved into his apartment, and was aſtoniſhed at finding him employed in conſulting the works of Cæſal-

into orders, would not even permit her ſecond ſon to enter the garden. This brother, whoſe name is Samuel, is ſtill living: he is a clergyman in the province of Smoland, and, on account of his ſkill in the management of bees, is known by the name of Bi-Kung, or the Bee-King.

* Bæck.

pinus,

pinus, Bauhin, and Tournefort. Pleaſed with this inſtance of his indefatigable zeal for ſcience, the profeſſor gave him acceſs to his library and collections; and readily aſſiſted him with advice and information.

Linnæus did not confine himſelf to botany; but turned his attention to the inferior orders of the animal kingdom: a branch of knowledge in which he eminently excelled, and which he was led to proſecute from a circumſtance, that would have damped the ardour of a leſs zealous inquirer. In endeavouring to form a collection of inſects, he was ſtung by the *Furia Infernalis** in

* The effects of the *Furia Infernalis* are thus deſcribed by Dr. Pulteney, from a Diſſertation *De Miraculis Inſectorum*, in the third volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*. "In Findland, Bothnia, and the northern provinces of Sweden, it was not unfrequently that people were ſeized with a pungent pain, confined to a point, in the hand, or other expoſed part of the body, which preſently increaſed to a moſt excruciating degree, and hath ſometimes been ſuddenly fatal. This diſorder was more particularly obſerved in Finland, eſpecially about boggy and marſhy places, and always in autumn. At length it was diſcovered, that this pain inſtantly ſucceeded ſomewhat that dropped out of the air, and in a moment penetrated and buried itſelf in the fleſh. The Finlanders had tried variety of applications to no purpoſe, until at length a poultice of curds, or cheeſe, was found the moſt effectual in eaſing the pain; and the event confirmed, that the inſect was allured by this application to leave the fleſh; as on its removal, this worm, no longer than the ſixth of an inch, was found in it, and thus the cauſe of this painful diſeaſe explained. Linnæus himſelf once ſuffered from this animal the effect here

in ſo terrible a manner, that his life was endangered *. This event excited his curioſity to diſcover the nature and qualities of that venomous worm, which led him to develope and explain thoſe numerous tribes of inſects † and worms, imperfectly deſcribed by preceding naturaliſts, and afterwards to throw new light on the whole animal kingdom.

In 1728 he was removed to the univerſity of Upſala; where his narrow circumſtances involved him at firſt in diſtreſſes unfriendly to the purſuits of ſcience, but which did not obſtruct his uſual exertions. His poverty is ſaid to have been ſo great, that he frequently wanted the

ſpoken of: but we owe the complete hiſtory of it and its place in the Syſtem, to Dr. Solander, who gave it in to the Royal Society of Sciences at Upſal. (Nov. Ac. vol. 1.) This worm ſtands in the Syſtem under the name of *Furia Infernalis*, p. 1325; but by what means this creature is raiſed into the air, is as yet unknown." General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 259.

* Bæck.

† "No part of the ſyſtem of nature," writes Dr. Pulteney, "has undergone a greater change than this claſs; neither does our author ſtand more unrivalled, than in the excellent arrangement he has given to this branch of natural hiſtory; which, before his time, was nearly without method." p. 101.

And again, "The knowledge of inſects may be ſaid to be the laſt branch of natural hiſtory that raiſed its head; notwithſtanding which, it has of late attained a high degree of perfection: nor can it be too much to attribute this to the excellent arrangement of Linnæus, under whoſe auſpices it has extended itſelf beyond all other parts of zoology." p. 351.

common

common neceſſaries of life, and was even accuſtomed to wear the caſt-off ſhoes of his fellow-ſtudents, which he mended with paſteboard for his own uſe*. From this ſtate of penury, he was ſuddenly relieved by the learned Olaus Celſius, profeſſor of divinity, and reſtorer of natural hiſtory in Sweden; whoſe patronage he caſually acquired. Celſius, having frequently noticed him making obſervations in his botanical garden, was aſtoniſhed at his proficiency in botany, the ſmalleſt knowledge of which was at that time eſteemed a rare qualification in Sweden; being informed of his diſtreſſed ſituation, he received him into his houſe; admitted him to his table, gave him acceſs to his library, and engaged his aſſiſtance in completing his *Hierobotanicon*, a work aſcertaining the plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The favours of this reſpectable patron, conferred in ſuch extreme neceſſity, he always acknowledged with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reverence and gratitude.

Soon afterwards he attracted the notice and obtained the patronage, of Olaus Rudbeck, profeſſor of phyſic and botany. An academical diſſertation, *De Nuptiis Arborum* †, being read

* Fabricius.

† The theſis is ſtyled ῥαμος φιλων, ſive de Nuptiis Arborum de quibus Diſſertationem Philologico-criticam publico bonorum examini ſubmittit Petrus Ugla, 23d Dec. 1729.

in the public ſchools, Linnæus wrote upon it ſome obſervations; wherein he introduced ſeveral remarks on the generation of plants, to which he had particularly turned his attention. Rudbeck, ſtruck with the ſagacity and juſtneſs of theſe obſervations, immediately commenced an acquaintance with the author: his abilities and knowledge being developed upon a nearer intimacy, the profeſſor appointed him tutor to his ſons, in ſome meaſure directed his ſtudies, and thought him ſufficiently qualified, though only in the 23d year of his age, to read occaſional lectures in the botanical garden, by which means he obtained a ſmall income. At this period Linnæus paſſed his days in herboriſing and giving lectures, and employed great part of the night in laying the foundation of the new ſyſtem, which he had already planned. He likewiſe began to arrange his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, his *claſſes*, and *genera plantarum*; from whence we may collect how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to ſuch perfection.

His knowledge was conſiderably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1732, to which, at the recommendation of Rudbeck and Celſius, he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upſala, in order to inveſtigate the natural hiſtory of that unknown region: but as he received only a gratuity of about £.8 towards defraying

fraying his expences, he was obliged to travel almoſt the whole way on foot, which he performed with great ſpirit and alacrity. He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May, 1732; ſtayed ſome time at the mines of Fahlun; viſited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardſhips; eſcaped imminent perils, and returned to Upſala in the month of October, 1733, after having traverſed near 4000 miles*. During his tour he tranſmitted to the Royal Society of Sciences a *Florula Lapponica*, which was printed in their acts, and was his firſt publication: in this catalogue, he diſpoſed the plants according to the ſyſtem afterwards called the Sexual.

Soon after his return he continued his lectures on botany, and delivered others upon mineralogy and the art of aſſaying metals, which were the firſt on that ſubject ever given at Upſala, and from which he acquired great applauſe. But being not entitled, from his ſtanding in the univerſity, to read lectures, a formal complaint was lodged againſt him by profeſſor Roſen, phyſician to the king, and he had the mortification to receive an expreſs prohibition from the academical conſiſtory. Linnæus, who began to draw a comfortable ſubſiſtence from theſe lectures, and ſaw no immediate means of main-

* Bæck.

in the public ſchools, Lin[illegible]ated at this pro-
ſome obſervations; whe[illegible]ord on the profeſſor,
remarks on the gene[illegible]d to violence had he
had particularly t[illegible]n conſequence of this
ſtruck with the [illegible]re been expelled from the
ſervations, imm[illegible] patron, Olaus Celſius, had not
noe with th[illegible] the affair *.
eing de[illegible]
rofeſſor [illegible] of Baron Reuterholm into Dale-
me r[illegible] Norway. During this tour he im-
ma[illegible] his knowledge of mineralogy, by viſiting
ld [illegible] mines and forges; at Fahlun, he read
lectures upon foſſils and the art of aſſaying,
which were much frequented; at the ſame time
he obtained the friendſhip of Dr. Morœus, the
phyſician of the place, to whoſe daughter he
betrothed himſelf. It being the cuſtom at that
time to take a degree in ſome foreign univerſity,
and the ſituation of Linnæus not being adequate
to ſuch an expence, the young lady preſented
him with an hundred ducats, (£.50,) to take his
doctor's degree at Harderwick in Guelderland †.
With this view he commenced his journey in
1735, and proceeded to Copenhagen and Ham-
burgh, where he gave a proof of his accurate
knowledge in natural hiſtory, by diſcovering,
that a celebrated ſnake with ſeven heads, be-
longing to the burgomaſter Spreckelſen, and long

* Fabricius. † Ibid.

eſteemed

ned a great wonder, was a mere impoſition. firſt inſpection, our naturaliſt perceived ne ſix heads, notwithſtanding the art with ich they were joined together, were jaws of weaſels covered with a ſkin of a ſnake *.

Linnæus, to whom 100 ducats appeared an immenſe ſum, thought his riches inexhauſtible, and, remaining a conſiderable time at Hamburgh, where he was pleaſed with his ſituation, found himſelf, on his arrival in Holland, reduced to extreme neceſſity, and unable to diſburſe the expence of a doctor's degree: he therefore applied by letter to Boerhaave, acquainting him that he was a perſon who devoted himſelf to the ſtudy of botany, but laboured under extreme poverty. Boerhaave, the friend and protector of ſcience, received Linnæus in his garden: among other topics of converſation, he pointed out the *Cratægus Aria*, and demanded, whether he had ever obſerved that plant, adding, it had not yet been deſcribed by any writer. Linnæus anſwered, it was a native of Sweden, and deſcribed by Vaillant. Boerhaave ſupported the contrary; and, convinced of the juſtneſs of his aſſertion, becauſe he had himſelf ſuperintended the publication of Vaillant's work, immediately brought the book to Linnæus, who,

* The reader will find a plate of this factitious monſter in Seba's Muſeum, vol. 1. table 102.

without

without heſitation, referred to the deſcription, which correſponded with the plant *. From this ſpecimen of his accurate knowledge in botany, Boerhaave became his patron, and recommended him to the protection of Mr. Clifford; by whom he was appointed ſuperintendant of a botanical garden †, lately formed at an extraordinary expence. In this new ſituation, highly adapted to his circumſtances and genius, he received a ſalary of a ‡ ducat per day; had the inſpection of a garden rich in the choiceſt plants; and was not confined in expence for obtaining every ſpecies of exotics, and procuring the works of the moſt eminent botanical authors. In addition to theſe favourable opportunities of increaſing his knowledge, he travelled, at the charge of Mr. Clifford, into England and France. During only two years reſidence with Mr. Clifford, he publiſhed many works § in ſeveral branches of natural hiſtory,

* Fabricius.

† At Hartcamp, about three miles from Harlem.

‡ About 9*s.* 6*d.*

§ Syſtema Naturæ, comprized, as Dr. Pulteney ſays, in twelve pages, and is the outlines of the ſucceeding editions—Fundamenta Botanica—Bibliotheca Botanica—Muſa Cliffortiana—Genera Plantarum—Viridarium Cliffortianum—Methodus Sexualis—Flora Lapponica—Critica Botanica—Hortus Cliffortianus—Artedi Ichtyologia—Claſſes Plantarum. "We cannot ſufficiently," ſays Dr. Bæck, with juſtneſs, "wonder how, within ſo ſhort a ſpace as two years, during which period he was ſo conſtantly occupied in arranging the plants of Cliffort's Garden according to

tory, in which he diſcovered an amazing ſagacity in methodizing and claſſing, with the niceſt diſcrimination, the various productions in the three kingdoms of nature. In theſe publications he ventured, young and unknown as he was, to commit his new ſyſtem to the world, which, undefended by its author, and ſupported only by intrinſic merit, conquered all oppoſition from men of the firſt abilities and decided character *.

His reſidence in Holland, which had eſſentially contributed to his riſe and improvement, was at lenth embittered by a dangerous diſorder

his ſyſtem, and was ſo continually interrupted by foreign viſitors, Linnæus could alſo find time to put forth ſo many writings, each of which would have been ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed the reputation of a man of learning; and theſe writings, founded upon his own diſcoveries, and tending to give a new form to a whole ſcience. The materials of ſome, indeed, had been collected and digeſted in Sweden; but it is a fact ſcarcely credible, that the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, a work which contains ſo much knowledge, ſhould have been written and printed in leſs than nine months." For an account of theſe various publications, ſee Pulteney, p. 16—30.

* Among others the celebrated Dillenius, though he candidly acknowledged the merits of the Linnæan ſyſtem, confeſſed that he was too far advanced in life to ſtudy a new arrangement. The ſame reaſons may account for the coolneſs of reception he met with from Sir Hans Sloane, notwithſtanding the following letter of recommendation written by Boerhaave: " *Linnæus, qui has tibi dabit literas, eſt unice dignus te videre, unice dignus a te videri, qui vos videbit ſimul, videbit hominum par, cui ſimile vix dabit orbis.*" See Pulteney, p. 12.

that

that terminated in an ague. He became ſuddenly penſive, diſcontented, expreſſed an inſurmountable deſire to fulfil his matrimonial engagements, and was impatient to appear in Sweden, where he flattered himſelf with the proſpect of a moſt honourable reception.

Having declined many offers of promotion, he quitted Holland in the ſpring of 1738, and, after paſſing a ſhort time at Paris, arrived at Stockholm in the month of September; where he ſettled as a phyſician, and married in the following year the lady to whom he had betrothed himſelf at Fahlun.

Linnæus returned to his native country full of ſanguine expectations that his merit would be recognized; but, to uſe his biographer's* expreſſions, "he was aſtoniſhed to find that he was conſidered more as a ſtranger among his countrymen than among foreigners." Mortified at this diſappointment, and the ſmall degree of practice which he firſt obtained, he once reſolved to accept the offers of his patrons in Holland; or to ſettle at Gottingen, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the celebrated Haller. But although his acknowledged merit, and uncommon reputation, ſoon ſecured to him the patronage of ſeveral illuſtrious perſonages, yet he paid the uſual tax of genius, by experiencing

* Bæck.

a con-

a conſiderable degree of envy and oppoſition; though by theſe means he was at firſt involved in ſome difficulties, only a ſhort period elapſed before he acquired an extenſive practice. His moſt conſiderable and zealous patron was count Teſſin, the firſt miniſter, whoſe collection he afterwards deſcribed in his *Muſeum Teſſinianum.*

By his intereſt, Linnæus obtained, in 1739, the office of phyſician to the fleet, and a ſtipend from the ſtates for reading lectures in mineralogy, on the collection of foſſils belonging to the board of mines *. Count Teſſin alſo recommended him in ſuch ſtrong terms to their Swediſh majeſties, that they honoured him with their patronage. Under his direction the king formed a collection of quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, and ſerpents, at Ulricſdal; and the queen of inſects and ſhells at Drottingſholm; both of which have been accurately deſcribed by Linnæus himſelf. During his reſidence at Stockholm, he aſſiſted in founding a literary ſociety, which was afterwards called the Royal Academy of Sciences, and of which he was appointed the firſt preſident.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmeſt ambition, the profeſſorſhip of botany in the univerſity of Upſala. On the death of Roberg, profeſſor of practical medicine and anatomy, Linnæus was appointed to fill his chair,

* Bæck.

which

which he changed, in 1742, with profeſſor Roſen, for that of botany: he was at the ſame time appointed to ſuperintend the phyſic-garden, and undertook to read lectures in botany, natural hiſtory, dietetics, on the knowledge of diſorders, and the *materia medica*. From this period he paſſed the remaining part of his life almoſt uniformly at Upſala.

He turned his principal attention to the improvement of the botanical garden, which, at the time of his appointment, ſcarcely contained 40 exotics; but produced, in 1748, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the climate, 1100 ſpecies, excluſive of indigenous plants and varieties. His own collection of natural hiſtory was rich only in plants; a circumſtance chiefly owing to the number of quadrupeds, ſhells, and inſects, which he preſented to their majeſties for their cabinets at Ulricſdal and Drottningſholm. His herbarium was highly valuable, from the number and arrangement of the ſpecimens.

By his incomparable lectures he raiſed the univerſity to the higheſt repute, and drew many foreigners to Upſala. He was always attended by a numerous audience, and his poſſeſſed art was not only ſatisfying the curioſity, but gaining the affection of the ſtudents. His lectures, diſtinguiſhed by the conciſeneſs and preciſion ſo conſpicuous in his works, were delivered with

with a ſpirit and animation which irreſiſtibly caught the attention of his hearers, for he ſpoke with a perſuaſion which was inſpired by deep inſight, juſt conceptions and zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature *. He diffuſed a ſudden ſpirit of enquiry; and kindled among his

* Bæck and Fabricius. Nothing can mark the philoſopher's paſſion for natural hiſtory more than theſe expreſſions in a letter to Mr. Pennant on the following occaſion. Having received the firſt notice of the Anomia retuſa (Syſt. Nat. 1151. No. 225.) being found in a recent ſtate, from Mr. Pennant, who obſerved one adhering to a ſea-plant drawn out of the Norwegian ſeas, he wrote to him, "Pro gaudio exultans quod detexeras concham anomiam a nullo mortalium antea viſam, quàque facem accenderas ſcientiâ naturali luculentiſſimam in deperditis huc uſque concharum generibus. De hac conchâ die noctuque cogito; de eo loquor hodiè; noctu de eo ſomnio." Dec. 3, 1756.

In another letter to our Engliſh zoologiſt he thus acknowledges a preſent of his Synopſis of Quadrupeds, and candidly allows the merit of the work, although it differed in ſome reſpect from his own method of claſſing animals. "Diu audivi D. Troill ſecum adduxiſſe dona tua, quæ avidiſſime exſpectavi. Redux tandem pridie ad nos acceſſit, et mihi obtulit Synopſin tuam *of Quadrupeds* et Zoologiam Indicam. Pro ſingulis grates reddo quas unquam poſſim calidiſſimas. Synopſin tuam legam et relegam millies. Multa in eo occurrunt lectu mihi jucundiſſima, et maxime utilia quæ in ſuccum et ſanguinem.——Perlecto hoc opere multa a te quæram nec unquam me ingratum ſentias.—Non de methodo diſputabo; mihi perinde erit utrum naturæ cultor ſit Lutheranus, Calvinianus, Judaicus, aut Mahometanus, unice notitiam ſpecierum quæram. O utinam viderem reliqua tua opera imprimis de avibus, quam multa inde addiſcerem quæ etiamnum me fugiunt.—Tua *Indian Zoology* perpulchra erat; pulcherrimæ figuræ rariſſimarum certe avium; deſcriptiones etiam exactiſſimæ.—Vale plura proxime." Upſaliæ, 1773, d. 2. Maii.

ſtudents

ſtudents a new zeal for the ſtudy of natural hiſtory. During the firſt years of his reſidence at Upſala, he gave herboriſing lectures in ſpring and ſummer. In theſe botanical excurſions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French-horns, and ſallied out at the head of 200 or 300 ſtudents, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or inſect, the ſtragglers were called together by the ſound of muſic, and crowding round their maſter, liſtened in reſpectful ſilence to his obſervations *.

His reputation was now widely ſpread in foreign countries, and he received the moſt flattering invitations to Peterſburgh, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid; where he was offered by the king of Spain a conſiderable ſtipend †, the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But the proſpect of the moſt ſplendid advantages could not ſeduce him from his native country; where he had acquired the eſteem of his ſovereign, and the general reſpect of his countrymen, which he maintained until his death.

* I am indebted to Sir John Cullum for this anecdote, who received it from Dr. Solander; and it has been ſince confirmed to me by Mr. Dryander, a Swediſh gentleman, who frequently attended theſe botanical excurſions.

† A penſion of 2000 piſtoles, Pulteney, p. 35.

His

His ſervices in promoting every branch of natural hiſtory were fully acknowledged; he was encouraged in his endeavours to improve and diffuſe his favourite ſcience; a new houſe was erected for him, at the public expence, cloſe to the phyſic garden; and he was occaſionally deputed by the ſtates to make excurſions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement of natural hiſtory. For this purpoſe he viſited the Iſlands of Gothland and Oeland, the provinces of Skone and Weſt Gothland, and communicated to the public, in his native language, the Itineraries of his Travels, which are ſaid to be replete with curious and philoſophical obſervations; the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural hiſtory to œconomical uſes. Under his auſpices, many of his ſcholars * were diſpatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the public, or of particular ſocieties, and they all ſeem to have caught from their beloved maſter a ſpirit of emulation and zeal for ſcience: the communications which he received from their unremitted labours furniſhed him with ſuch in-

* Kalm journeyed to North America; Haſſelquiſt to Smyrna, Egypt, and Paleſtine; Ternſtroem, Toren, and Oſbeck, to China; Rolander to Surinam; Loefling to Spain and North America; Forſkal to Arabia; Thunberg to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Japan; Sparman to the Cape and South Seas; and above all, the much to be regretted Dr. Solander round the world.

formation as enabled his comprehenſive mind to appropriate their diſcoveries, and to "exemplify in a more perfect and detailed manner, his ſyſtem of nature*." Thus his genius diffuſed itſelf through the moſt diſtant regions of the globe, and his ſpirit ſtill continues to animate the zealous diſciples of the Linnæan ſchool.

The circumſtances, relative to his deceaſe, are related by his Swediſh biographer†. In May 1774, while reading lectures in the botanical garden, he was ſeized with an apoplectic ſtroke, followed by a debility, which he himſelf pronounced the forerunner of death. His limbs were affected to ſuch a degree, that he could not be moved without extreme pain and difficulty. In autumn, however, he was ſomewhat recovered, which he, in the enthuſiaſm of ſcience, imputed to a preſent from the king of ſeveral hundred rare plants. Theſe plants, brought from Surinam by Dahlberg, a Swediſh officer, were ſo well preſerved in ſpirits, that their flowers, fruit, and leaves, were diſtinctly viſible. He found great amuſement and conſolation in arranging and publiſhing a ſhort deſcription of them, under the title of *Plantæ Surinamenſes*, which was his laſt performance. In June 1776, he was afflicted with a ſecond ſtroke of apoplexy, which reduced him

* Pulteney, p. 34. † Bæck.

to

to ſo weak a ſtate, that, to uſe his own expreſſions in his Journal, "Linnæus limps, can hardly move, ſpeaks unintelligibly, and can ſcarcely write." In the ſame year a paralytic ſtroke deprived him of the uſe of his right ſide, and confined him wholly to his bed. His ſtrength gradually forſook him, his mental faculties were impaired, and an ague, attended by a dropſy, brought on a tranquil diſſolution on the 10th of January 1778, in the 71ſt year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upſala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and reſpect could inſpire, and his diſciples erected a monument to his memory*. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be ſtruck, expreſſive of the dejection of ſcience on the deceaſe of Linnæus; he alſo attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration ſpeech was delivered, and, as a ſtill higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a ſpeech from the throne to the diet of 1778,

* The monument erected to his memory is a ſlab of Swediſh porphyry, bearing a medallion of Linnæus, executed by Sergell, with the inſcription—

Carolo a Linnæe
Botanicorum Principi
Amici et diſcipuli.

the irretrievable loſs which Sweden had ſuffered from his death *.

The moſt trifling anecdotes relative to the perſon and character of ſuch eminent men as Linnæus, cannot fail of being particularly intereſting; and our curioſity in theſe reſpects will be highly gratified by the detail of a † naturaliſt perſonally acquainted with him; who repreſents him chiefly in private and domeſtic ſcenes; which, though they place every character in the trueſt light, yet too often eſcape the notice of biographers.

" I had the good fortune of enjoying the inſtructions, protection, and familiar acquaintance of Linnæus, from 1762 to 1764. No day paſſed in which I did not ſee him; none in which I did not attend his lectures, or converſe with him in the moſt friendly manner. In ſummer I followed him into the country, accompanied by two friends, Kuhn and Zoega, who were foreigners as well as myſelf: in winter we took up our abode oppoſite to his houſe at Upſala; where he viſited us almoſt every day without form, in his red night-gown and green cap lined with fur, and with his pipe in his hand. His converſation was lively and agreeable; he amuſed us with many anecdotes relative to the

* ulteney, p. 212. † Fabricius.

naturaliſts,

naturalists, both native and foreign, whom he had formerly known; he frequently resolved difficulties which occurred to us in the progress of our studies, and often favoured us with occasional instructions. During our unrestrained intercourse, he frequently burst into loud fits of laughter, his countenance brightened with pleasure, and his mind expanded with a degree of openness and freedom, which shewed his natural inclination to sociableness and friendship.

"Not less joyous was our country life. We dwelled in a farm-house at a small distance from his habitation. Linnæus in summer generally rose at four *, frequently called upon us at six, and, having breakfasted, read lectures upon the *Ordines naturales plantarum* until ten. Then we attended him to the neighbouring rocks, where he had sufficient employment in describing their different productions till mid-day, the usual hour of dinner; after which we repaired to his house, and passed the evening in his company. Every Sunday we received a visit from Linnæus and his whole family; on which occasion we always provided a peasant who played upon a rebec, and danced in the barn with in-

* "In summer," says Dr. Bæck, "he usually slept only from 10 to 3; and in winter from 9 to 6. Whenever he perceived himself fatigued with too much application, he quitted his study, and relieved himself with society."

finite ſatisfaction. In truth, though our ball was not very ſplendid; our ſociety not numerous; our muſic not ſuper-excellent; our minuets and Poliſh dances not diverſified; yet we amuſed ourſelves not a little. The old man, who generally ſat ſmoking his pipe with my friend Zoega, and looked on, would now and then ſtart up and join in a Poliſh dance, in which he ſurpaſſed the youngeſt of the company. Thoſe days and hours will never be forgotten by me, but will always be recollected with pleaſure.

"Linnæus was ſmall in ſtature, and appeared ſtill ſhorter from a habit of ſtooping. He was thin, but well made; when I knew him, age had already marked his forehead with wrinkles. His countenance was open, and almoſt always ſerene; his eyes the moſt expreſſive I ever beheld; they were ſmall indeed, but lively and piercing beyond deſcription; I do not recollect their colour, but their glances would now and then penetrate and read my very ſoul. The engraving prefixed to the *Species Plantarum* is a ſtriking reſemblance of him. His mind was noble; his underſtanding quick and acute. His great pre-eminence conſiſted in the regular connection of his ideas, and all his words and actions were orderly and ſyſtematic. In his youth his memory was ſtrong, but began to fail at a very early period of his life. I perceived ſeveral

ral inſtances of his not being able to remember the names of his neareſt acquaintance, and once in particular found him in great diſtreſs, having juſt written a letter to his father-in-law, whoſe name he had forgotten.

" His heart was open to every impreſſion of joy, he loved pleaſantry, and was fond of ſociety; he was an excellent companion, cheerful and agreeable in his converſation, of fanciful wit, and poſſeſſed a happy talent of applying appoſite anecdotes. His paſſions were ſtrong and violent, he was haſty and choleric, but ſoon appeaſed. His friendſhips were warm and unalterable, and more particularly to his favourite ſcholars; his attachment was always founded on a love of ſcience; he was ſo fortunate as to experience few inſtances of ingratitude; and it is well known with what zeal his diſciples returned his friendſhip, and how frequently they engaged in his defence.

" Though his love of fame was boundleſs, and his motto, *Famam extendere factis*, the true image of his ſoul; yet this ambition had no other object than literary eminence, and never degenerated into an offenſive and unſocial pride. Nor was the rank, to which he had been raiſed by the favour of his ſovereign, otherwiſe agreeable to him than as a mark of his high reputation in ſcience. In matters rela-

tive to botany he could not eaſily brook contradiction: he thankfully, indeed, received and uſed the annotations of his friends for the improvement of his works; but diſdained the attacks of his opponents; and, by never replying, conſigned them to oblivion. He was himſelf liberal in his encomiums, and not diſpleaſed with being admired, which ſeems to have been his principal foible: his love of praiſe, however, was founded on the ſtrong perception of his own excellence, on his acknowledged improvements of natural hiſtory, and on the conſciouſneſs of being eſteemed the firſt ſyſtematic writer of the age. Tournefort, as he often aſſured me, he had looked up to from his youth as the maſter whom he propoſed to imitate, and whom he ſoon ſurpaſſed in a conſiderable degree.

" His way of life was moderate and parſimonious; and he has been accuſed of covetouſneſs*. I cannot, however, but hold him in ſome meaſure excuſed, if he placed too high a value upon money, the want of which he had ſo long and ſo ſeverely experienced. It may alſo be urged in his defence, that the habits of ex-

* It is a ſufficient refutation of the charge of avarice, that " though extremely ſparing in his own private expences, he was liberal in entertaining his friends, and in acts of charity, and always remitted to poor ſtudents what was due to him for attending his lectures." Bæck.

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treme parſimony, which he had contracted under the moſt preſſing neceſſities, adhered to him afterwards; and could not be ſhaken off even in times of affluence. I never, however, perceived that his frugality degenerated into ſordid avarice; and I can allege my own example as an inſtance to the contrary. He refuſed in ſo peremptory a manner to accept the acknowledgment due to him for reading lectures to us during the ſummer, that we were obliged (after having in vain endeavoured to force it upon him) to leave it ſecretly behind us."

To the honour of his country and the preſent age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his ſuperior genius by the unſolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the Polar-ſtar, and ennobled in 1756.

His numerous writings brought him no inconſiderable emolument*; while his ſalary as profeſſor, his practice as phyſician, and the preſents which he occaſionally received from his ſcholars, rendered him eaſy and independent. He purchaſed in the neighbourhood of Upſala two eſtates, at Hammarby and at Sæfja; at the former he built a villa, and at his deceaſe bequeathed an ample provi-

* A ducat, or about 9*s.* 6*d.* each ſheet. Fabricius.

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ſion to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one ſon, Charles Linnæus, who ſucceeded him in the profeſſorſhip, and died on the 1ſt of November 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be claſſed among thoſe of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, Euler, and other great philoſophers, who were friends to religion. He always teſtified in his converſations, writings, and actions, the higheſt reverence for the Supreme Being; and was ſo ſtrongly impreſſed with the idea of omnipreſence, that he wrote over the door of his library; *Innocui vivite, numen adeſt.*

The great merits of Linnæus, as a naturaliſt, are to be eſtimated from the rude ſtate in which he found all the branches of natural hiſtory, and the perfection to which he carried them; in drawing order from confuſion, and perſpicuity from darkneſs. His underſtanding, comprehenſive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almoſt infinite variety of objects, which the magnitude of the greateſt could not fatigue, nor the inſignificance of the ſmalleſt elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no ſmall volume to trace even the outlines of his ſyſtem, now diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compaſs of natural hiſtory,

tory. In theſe extenſive and various purſuits, we know not which to admire moſt; intimate knowledge, fertility of invention, indefatigable induſtry, ſcientific arrangement, or that wonderful exactneſs in diſcriminating, where the minuteſt ſhades of difference are ſcarcely perceptible.

The reader, who is deſirous of further intelligence concerning this great naturaliſt, will find his curioſity amply gratified from the peruſal of Dr. Pulteney's "General View of the Writings of Linnæus." In that excellent publication the ingenious author has detailed a liſt of his numerous works, methodically claſſed according to the æra of their appearance; to which is ſubjoined a critical account of their general contents. He has alſo traced the progreſs, and laid open the leading principles of the Linnæan ſyſtem, with a maſterly preciſion and accuracy, which could only be derived from the moſt perfect knowledge of the ſubject.

CHAP. 8.

Remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronſtedt, and Bergman.

THE contents of this chapter being at my requeſt communicated by Dr. Pulteney, I claim no other merit than that of giving it to the public.

The public revenue and wealth of Sweden being intimately connected with the mines, particularly thoſe of iron, mineralogy has been eminently encouraged and cultivated. To this cauſe we may attribute the acknowledged ſkill of the Swediſh chymiſts, as ſuperior to thoſe of many other nations: for how much ſoever we owe to the labours of Pott and Margraaf, and ſeveral other Germans, to the Swedes we are indebted for the firſt rational ſyſtem of mineralogy. Among thoſe who principally taught the method of arranging theſe unorganized bodies, we muſt not omit the great Linnæus: he laid the baſis of what may be called the claſſical foundation of his ſyſtem, in the chymical analyſis; having early diſtributed the earths into Calcareous, Vitreſcent, and Apyrous,

and eſtabliſhed his orders and genera, on figure, colour, hardneſs, and other ſenſible qualities. This ſyſtem was firſt adopted by Wallerius, but conſiderably improved by Cronſtedt; and the recent diſcoveries of the Swediſh mineralogiſts and chymiſts have greatly advanced this branch of knowledge.

Wallerius publiſhed at Stockholm, in 1747, the firſt ſketch of his ſyſtem in the Swediſh tongue; and he has preſerved nearly the ſame arrangement in the ſubſequent editions of 1754 and 1778. In 1748 he gave to the world a diſſertation, "On the Nature and Origin of Nitre;" and, in 1751, an academical diſſertation on the Principles of Vegetation. Soon after his appointment to the profeſſorſhip of chymiſtry, metallurgy, and pharmacy, he afterwards printed in his native language, "An Epiſtle on the true Nature, Utility, and Excellence of Chymyſtry." In the next year, in addition to his tract on Vegetation, he publiſhed another, relative to "The Methods and Uſe of rendering Seeds fertile, by waſhing or infuſing them in various Kinds of Liquors:" and gives it as his opinion, that ſuch methods are generally hazardous.

In the ſame year Wallerius put forth, in the 7th volume of the *Acta Academiæ Naturæ Curioſorum*, a paper "On the beſt Method of making

making Tar from the Pine and Fir Trees;" in which he treats of the principles of tar-water, the medicinal fame whereof had, by means of the Biſhop of Cloyne's *Siris*, ſpread over Europe. In the ſame acts he has written "On the ſtellated or aboreſcent appearance on the *Regulus Antimonii*," and gives directions to prepare the regulus ſo as to ſucceed in rendering the ſtar viſible; obſerving, that it depends on the antimony being more or leſs deprived of the ſulphur. This year produced from the profeſſor a theſis, containing "Some Strictures on the erroneous Method of preparing certain Chymical Remedies:" a ſignal proof of his application of true chymical knowledge to the real advantage of practical medicine. In the acts of the Royal Society of Stockholm for 1754, he deſcribed the method of making, from mercury alone, the *arbor dianæ*, or what has been called the philoſophical tree. In vol. 21, for 1760, with equal ability, he inquires into "the nature of that earth which exiſts in all vegetables and animals as a principle of their compoſition;" and takes occaſion to ſpecify the method of obtaining pure earth of this kind from water, by trituration, as mentioned by Eller: a fact which has been much diſputed, by many ſubſequent philoſophers and chymiſts. In theſe acts alſo, for 1765, we find the reſult of his examination of platina, which

which he deemed a real metal, and not a recrement, or mixed metal.

In 1761 he publiſhed an academical diſſertation, under the title of "Chymical Principles of Agriculture," in quarto; in which the various methods of fertilizing different ſoils, by manures, and other proceſſes, are diſcuſſed. About the ſame time he wrote, in the Swediſh tongue, a theſis, on occaſion of ſome miſchief done at Upſala by lightning, intended to prove the perfect ſimilarity between the matter of lightning and electrical fire.

In 1768 Wallerius gave to the world a large volume, octavo, in Latin, "On the Elements of Metallurgy;" in which he has expatiated on the principles of the docimaſtic art. The ſame year he alſo put forth "Lucubrations on all the Syſtems of Mineralogical Writers," and on the "Method of conſtructing a rational Claſſification of the Foſſil Kingdom." This is a work of much labour and erudition; and is highly gratifying to a curious ſearcher into nature. He begins with the earlieſt writers on the ſubject, and follows them through each century to the preſent time. He has exemplified the latter part of his lucubrations in his own ſyſtem, of which he publiſhed the firſt volume in a Latin edition in 1772, and the ſecond in 1778. This work muſt be conſidered as his capital performance.

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The French edition of 1754 was in great eſtimation; but this is much enlarged, and, being rendered into Latin, is become more ſcientific, and better adapted to general uſe. The great treaſure of erudition and experimental knowledge which it contains, renders it unqueſtionably one of the moſt valuable books on the ſcience; and, in defiance of all changes of ſyſtems or circumſtances in mineralogy and chymiſtry, it muſt long remain a ſtriking inſtance of labour, learning, and ſcience. Beſides the excellent arrangement of the ſubject, and the well-defined characters of each claſs, order, and genus, it is enriched at the end of each genus with copious *ſcholia*, containing the opinions of preceding authors on the ſeveral ſubſtances; and he concludes with his own idea of the true nature or compoſition of each.

One of the lateſt of his works is his *Meditationes de Origine Mundi*, printed at Stockholm, in octavo, 1779. It is to be expected, that many of the principles contained in this work, relating to fire, light, fixed air, &c. and much of his reaſoning, particularly on the inflammable, ſaline, and aqueous principles in bodies, will not be received by all the philoſophers of this country; nor his theory of the formation of this globe, be thought ſatisfactory. Yet, the learning he has diſplayed, and his well-

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intended ſolicitude to reconcile his ſyſtem, and the changes of the elements, to the Moſaic account of the creation, will enſure his work a candid reception among all who are inclined to ſpeculate on theſe intricate ſubjects, and are friendly to religion.

This learned man, after having filled the chair for thirty years with high reputation, reſigned, in 1767, the profeſſorſhip; was honoured by his ſovereign with the order of Vaſa, and ſtill continues to enjoy, at his houſe near Upſala, a literary retirement *.

Axel Frederic Cronſtedt, the excellent Cronſtedt, as he is juſtly called, deſcended from a noble German family, naturalized in Sweden, was a native of Sudermanland, and born in 1722. He ſtudied mineralogy under Wallerius, Swab, and Tilas. He commenced his walk in this field of ſcience by a diſcovery which ſoon rendered him conſpicuous, that of a new ſemimetal, called Nickel. He gave the firſt intimation of it in a paper publiſhed in the Stockholm Acts, for 1751; and detailed ſome experiments in the ſame work, for 1754. In 1753, he publiſhed "Obſervations on Gypſum;" and in the ſixteenth volume of the Acts, for 1755, gave a curious account of ſilver precipitated from water in the Kongſberg mines. In 1756,

* Wallerius died at Upſala in 1785, aged 77.

Cronſtedt diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the diſcovery of the zeolite, which he firſt named, and ſeparated as a diſtinct ſtone, conſiſting of a peculiar earth, as its baſis: his obſervations were printed in the Stockholm Acts for that year. Profeſſor Bergman has ſince found, by analyzing zeolite, that it conſiſts of a mixture of ſiliceous, argillaceous, and calcareous earth.

In the ſame Acts, for 1757, he publiſhed an ingenious paper, with a view to detect the colouring principle in the cow-wheat (*Meſampyrum arvenſe*), the ſtalks of which, when faded, acquire a fine blue tint. They yield this colour to water; and it is not deſtroyed either by vinegar, ſpirit of vitriol, or alkalis, unleſs boiled together with theſe latter, which led him to ſuſpect that a vegetable dye, or pigment, might be extracted from this plant.

In 1758, being director of the mines of Dalecarlia and Weſtmanland, Cronſtedt publiſhed his "Eſſay towards a Syſtem of Mineralogy." It was printed in the Swediſh language, without the name of the author; in 1760, was tranſlated into German, in 1770, into Engliſh, and is now in the hands of all diligent inquirers into the knowledge of foſſils. Wallerius himſelf has called it *Opus ſine pari.* The author, not being led away with what he calls *Figuromania*, but neglecting the external appearances

appearances of mineral bodies, has ſucceeded in claſſing them according to their conſtituent principles. This method obliges him to make no diſtinction between earths and ſtones; and to throw into an appendix all that are called figured extraneous foſſils, which had held ſo diſtinguiſhed a rank in former ſyſtems.

In the Stockholm Acts, for 1761, he gave ſome inſtructions relating to the choice of ſtone for building; and hinted at the practicability of uſing the ſlag of iron ſmelting-houſes, by running it into * moulds for bricks; which hint is proſecuted in a ſubſequent paper of 1763, adviſing, that the lime which is uſed ſhould be reduced into fine powder. In the ſame volume he communicated ſome obſervations "on the Phyſical Geography of the Province of Jemtland in Sweden." In the volume for 1764, Cronſtedt delivered in a proceſs on platina, when melted with nickel and ſulphur, which he found recoverable, in the form of a black powder, by diſſolving the mixed ſubſtance in aqua-fortis. It is to be lamented that this able man did not live longer, to improve ſtill further that ſcience which he ſo much enlightened. He died in 1765, in the 43d year of his age.

A poſthumous work of this accurate minera-

* This is now practiſed at the forges at Briſtol; and there are long ranges of wall near Bath covered with this material.

logiſt has made its appearance. For ſome time before his death he was employed in arranging and preparing for the preſs an account of the mines of Weſtmanland and Dalecarlia, of which he was ſuperintendent. A copy of this performance, originally written by the author in the Swediſh tongue, which he completed but did not live to publiſh, was fortunately procured by Georgi, adjunct to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Peterſburgh; who has given to the world a German tranſlation of it under the following title*: "Cronſted's Mineralogical Account of the Mines of Weſtmanland and Dalecarlia, from his own Obſervations and Reſearches;" a work replete with much curious information, and remarkable for that accuracy and preciſion, which ſo highly diſtinguiſh all his other writings.

Profeſſor Bergman diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſtrong attachment to ſcience; and was, at an early period of his life, made profeſſor of mathematics and natural philoſophy in the univerſity of Upſala. In the 17th volume of the Stockholm Acts, for 1756, he corrected a miſtake of the celebrated Linnæus, who, for want of more perfect information, deſcribed, under

* "Mineral Geſchichte ueber Weſtmanlandiſche und Dalecarliſche Erdgeburge auf Beobachtungen und Unterſuechungen gegruendet," &c.

the

the name of *coccus aquaticus*, the egg of a ſpecies of the leech genus; and, in the ſubſequent year, he gave an accurate deſcription of that genus, which was afterwards generally adopted by Linnæus himſelf.

In 1759, he publiſhed a paper containing "A Review of the ſeveral Explanations which Natural Philoſophers have given of the Rainbow;" and, in 1760, ſome thoughts "On the Origin of thoſe Meteors which are not accompanied by any ſenſible Sound or Exploſion;" and a paper "On the Opinions held by Philoſophers, relating to the Twilight;" to which he has prefixed the account of Mairan's *anticrepuſculum*, or that of the horizon oppoſite to the ſun. In 1761 and 1762, profeſſor Bergman wrote, in the Swediſh Acts, on the ſubject of electricity, in conſequence of a correſpondence with Mr. Wilſon; and particularly on the electrical quality of Iceland cryſtal, and double refracting ſpar. In 1763, he again diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the entomologiſts, by remarks on the *tenthredo*, or ſaw-fly, the caterpillars of which had commonly been confounded with thoſe of the butterfly and moth, until he diſcovered that the feet in the latter are never more than ſixteen, but in the *tenthredo* always exceed that number. The ſame year produced from the author, a reſult of ſome electrical experiments, made with ſilk

of various colours, which did not prove ſatiſfactory.

In 1767, on the reſignation of Wallerius, Bergman was choſen to ſucceed him as profeſſor of chymiſtry and metallurgy. How ably he has filled this chair, ſo honourably occupied by his venerable predeceſſor, is well known to all who are intereſted in theſe purſuits. In the year 1764, the profeſſor wrote a paper to aſcertain, from a number of obſervations, the height in the atmoſphere at which the *aurora borealis* exiſts. He computes, that theſe appearances are ſometimes ſo low as at 20 Swediſh miles*; at others, that they are raiſed to 150: the medium he therefore fixes at 72. Theſe obſervations were afterwards further proſecuted. In 1765 and 1766, he wrote again on electrical ſubjects, and chiefly on the property and laws of electricity in the Tourmalin, which had been referred to his examination by the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm.

In 1767, Bergman publiſhed ſome important hints relative to the depuration of alum at the alum-works, in which he adviſes the uſe of argillaceous earth, and propoſed tobacco-pipe clay, inſtead of alkali, to free it from the vitriol. A paper having appeared in the Stockholm Acts

* A degree containing 10½ Swediſh miles; a Swediſh mile = about 6¼ Engliſh miles.

for

1769, on the culture of pine-trees, he alſo publiſhed in the ſame, "An Account of the Inſects which deſtroy that Tree in Sweden;" and attributes the devaſtation to the abundance of the *tenthredo* caterpillar. In that kingdom, where ſuch immenſe quantities of wood are conſumed in the ſmelting furnaces, theſe matters are deſerving of high attention. In 1770, in order to induce the Swediſh chymiſts to prepare corroſive ſublimate, which was then chiefly imported, our author publiſhed a paper, containing a recital of the various methods hitherto uſed to unite mercury with the marine acid; and he continued the hiſtory of this combination in two ſubſequent volumes of the ſame Acts. Some buildings at Stockholm having ſuffered by lightning in the year 1769, our author, and his ſucceſſor in the profeſſorſhip of natural philoſophy, Mr. Wilkie, both publiſhed, "On the Subject of Conductors to Lightning."

In the Stockholm Acts, for 1771, profeſſor Bergman gave "Some Inſtructions concerning the beſt Clay Compoſitions for making Tiles." In 1773, iſſued his obſervations on fixed air; or, as he choſe rather to call it, the aërial acid: this paper, and ſeveral others, printed before and after, either ſeparately, or in the Stockholm Acts, have ſince been collected, and publiſhed by the author in Latin, in three volumes

octavo, 1779, 1780, 1783, under the title of *Opuſcula phyſica et chemica; pleraque ſeorſim antea edita jam ab auctore collecta, reviſa et aucta*; and have further contributed to extend his fame, and moſt deſervedly raiſe his character to a high rank throughout Europe. The author propoſes to carry on this miſcellaneous publication on the ſame plan.

Dr. Troil's Account of Iceland contains a curious letter from the profeſſor, written in 1776; in which he introduces many judicious obſervations on the effects of ſubterraneous fires, on the origin and formation of baſaltes, and the lavas and foſſil products of Iceland *.

Bergman has not confined his reſearches and inquiries to the mere analyſis of bodies in the laboratory; but extended his views to phyſical geography, and has given lucubrations on the ſtructure and formation of the earth †. His eſſay on the uſefulneſs of Chymiſtry, tranſlated into the Engliſh language, evinces not only an extenſive acquaintance with this ſcience, but alſo a comprehenſive view of the good effects to be expected, from its improvement, on the intereſts of mankind.

Bergman has compoſed two academical diſ-

* See Troil's Letters on Iceland, p. 338. 400.

† "Phyſick Beſkrifnung oefoer Jordklotet," or Phyſical Deſcription of the Earth.

ſertations,

fertations*, replete with much accurate information on the origin and progreſs of chymiſtry. In the firſt he treats of its riſe and gradual improvement, in a chronological ſeries, to the middle of the 7th century; and in the ſecond carries his inquiries to the middle of the 17th century.

In the fourth volume of the Upſala Acts, the profeſſor put forth *Meditationes de Syſtemate Foſſilium Naturali;* or, Conſiderations on the Natural Syſtem of Foſſils. This learned work is divided into two parts; the firſt, on their arrangement, treats of natural bodies in general, of the criteria of foſſils, of their claſſes, genera, ſpecies, varieties; the ſecond lays down rules for giving names to foſſils; a great deſideratum in this branch of natural knowledge, and which will tend to prevent that confuſion and uncertainty derived from the want of preciſe, general, and ſpecific appellations †.

The reader will not wonder that ſuch extraordinary merit ſhould be duly noticed by the king of Sweden. Guſtavus honoured profeſſor Bergman with the order of Vaſa ‡, and all men of

* De Primordiis Chemiæ in 1777. Chemiæ Progreſſus a Medio Sæc. VII. ad Medium Sæc. XVII.—1782.

† His works are collected in three volumes octavo, excluſive of his Phyſical Geography in two volumes.

‡ Having omitted to give an account of the Swediſh orders, I ſhall take this opportunity of mentioning them. There are four orders:

of ſcience will join in wiſhing that he may long fill the chair which he now occupies ſo much to the advancement of ſcience *.

orders: the three firſt were inſtituted in 1748, by Frederic I.; and the laſt by Guſtavus III.

I. The order of the Seraphim, or the blue ribband; which is appropriated to perſons of the firſt rank; it admits only 24 members, excluſive of the royal family and foreign princes. II. The order of the Sword, or the yellow ribband, for the officers of the navy and army. There are three claſſes of this order: 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder, and a ſtar on the coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband in the ſame manner, but without the ſtar. Each of theſe claſſes contains 24 members. 3. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole. The number of theſe is indefinite, but generally amounts to above 1000. III. Polar Star, or the black ribband. Of this order there are two claſſes: 1. Commanders, who wear the great croſs pendent round the neck; there are 24 of this claſs, excluſive of four to be added for the biſhops. 2. Knights, who wear the ſmall croſs pendent from the button-hole, are, excluſive of foreigners, 48; and ſix to be added for the clergy. This order, before the inſtitution of the following order of Vaſa, was conferred on men of letters. IV. The order of Vaſa, or the green ribband, eſtabliſhed at the coronation of Guſtavus III. is divided into three claſſes. 1. Commanders of the Great Croſs, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder, and the ſtar on the coat. 2. Commanders, who wear the ribband over the ſhoulder, without the ſtar. 3. Knights, who wear the ribband over the neck. This order is conferred on perſons who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in agriculture, commerce, the arts, and ſciences.

* Bergman was appointed Rector of the univerſity of Upſala, and died at Medvi in 1784, in the 50th year of his age.

A further account of *Bergman* may be ſeen in Aikin's "General Biography," chiefly taken from his *Eloge*, inſerted in the Acts of the Pariſian Academy of Sciences for 1784.

The

The laſt work which I ſhall mention of this great chymiſt, is the *Sciagraphia Mineralis*, or Sketch of the Mineral Kingdom, which may be conſidered as heads of a courſe of lectures drawn up for the uſe of Mr. Ferber, who obtained the author's permiſſion to preſent it to the world. This ſhort, but able tract was firſt publiſhed in 1782, at Leipſic and Deſſau, and reprinted in England and Italy.

I ſhall inſert in the Appendix of this volume, an analyſis of it, by the ſame ingenious author to whom I am indebted for the former part of this chapter.

CHAP. 9.

General deſcription of the country.—Weſteros.—Tomb of Eric XIV.—His impriſonment and death.—Account of his family.—Singular adventures of his eldeſt ſon Guſtavus.—Kungſoer.—Arboga.—Orebro.—Marieſtadt.—Lidkioping.—Trolhætta.—River Gotha.—Attempts to join the Gulf of Bothnia and the German Ocean by an inland navigation acroſs Sweden.—Endeavours to render the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable.—Deſcription of the works.

THE provinces of Upland, Weſtmanland, and Nerike, which I traverſed in my way to Gotheborg, are eſtemed the richeſt and fineſt parts of Sweden; and indeed I can hardly figure to myſelf a more variegated or pleaſing ſcenery than is exhibited by the general face of the country. Hills and dales, rocks and vallies, ſmall plains, numerous lakes, foreſts, meadows and arable land, frequent towns and villages, and ſcattered farm-houſes, are blended with conſtant and delightful variety. Thus Sweden, which ſome travellers, forming their judgment merely from the few diſtricts that fell under their immediate obſervation, have deſcribed as a maſs of barren and ungenial ſoil,

is not deficient in the picturesque beauties of rural nature. But I hasten from general to particular description.

March 6.—From Upsala I passed a tract of country, more open and fertile than I had hitherto observed in Sweden, to Endkioping, a small town, situated on a river close to an inlet of the lake Mæler, and consisting chiefly of wooden houses painted red. It stands on a ridge of ground composed of sand and gravel, which once formed the shore of the lake. Beyond it is a small plain, formerly covered with water, in which I observed many scattered fragments of granite. The two next posts brought me, at the end of 24 miles, to Westeros, situated likewise on a small river close to the Mæler.

Westeros, or Western Arosia, so called to distinguish it from Ostra Aros, or Eastern Arosia, the antient name of Upsala, is esteemed, by the native writers, a place of high antiquity, who derive the appellation, by a fanciful etymology, from the river Ar, and Os, a mouth, and suppose it alluded to by Tacitus, and by Jornandes the Gothic historian. But without dwelling on etymological inquiries, we may observe, that the name occurs in the earliest times of Swedish history. Westeros carries on a considerable

derable commerce with Stockholm acroſs the lake Mæler; particularly in copper and iron from the mines, which abound in the province of Weſtmanland. It is a large ſtraggling town, compoſed of wooden houſes, and contains the ruins of an ancient palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden. It is a biſhop's ſee; and the cathedral, which is built with brick, is celebrated for the tower, eſteemed the higheſt in the kingdom: the lower part of this tower is ſquare, and ſupports an octagon ſpire, covered with copper.

Within the cathedral is the tomb of Eric XIV. whoſe final cataſtrophe I ſhall now relate. We may pity the unfortunate monarch who was ſubject to ſuch dreadful fits of inſanity as may account, in ſome degree, for his actions; yet we cannot, at the ſame time, but confeſs, that he was unworthy to reign. The prelude to his depoſition was the releaſe of his brother John* from the caſtle of Gripſholm, where he had been confined by Eric for four years. His dethronement, which he had merited by the moſt flagrant enormities, was haſtened by his imprudence in publicly eſpouſing his miſtreſs, Catha-

* John had been juſtly impriſoned for marrying the daughter of Sigiſmond king of Poland in oppoſition to Eric, and for maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with Sigiſmond had been condemned to death by the ſtates, but was pardoned by the king.

rine,

nine, a woman of low extraction, and by what he conſidered as the moſt fortunate circumſtance of his life, the birth of a ſon, whom he compelled his brothers to acknowledge as heir-apparent to the throne. This event excluding his brothers John and Charles, from all hopes of the ſucceſſion, diſpoſed them to avail themſelves of the general diſcontents, which the capricious conduct of Eric, his miſtruſt of the principal nobility, and unlimited confidence in perſons of the meaneſt extraction, excited through the kingdom. On the 10th of July 1568, they raiſed the ſtandard of revolt at Wadſtena; and their party rapidly acquired ſuch numbers, that Eric, beſieged in Stockholm, was ſoon compelled to capitulate, and abdicate in favour of John. The depoſed monarch was immediately impriſoned in the caſtle of Stockholm, where he endured every ſpecies of perſecution and indignity. To uſe his own pathetic words, which beſt expreſs his ſufferings, "God knows how cruelly and unworthily I have been uſed theſe 22 weeks laſt paſt. Not a day paſſes over my head without leaving behind it ſome affliction. We have been (beſide the provocations from the reproaches of ſlanderous men) exceedingly tormented with hunger, cold, ſtench, and darkneſs; and what is more affecting than all the reſt, my enemies have more than once attacked

us

us with ſwords and poniards. Sometimes we have been deprived of the common refreſhments of reſt and ſleep, becauſe of tumults and noiſe in the night ſeaſon *." Once in particular, being rouſed to reſiſtance by repeated inſults, one of his brutal keepers ſhattered his arm with a muſket, and left him ſeveral hours weltering in his blood without aſſiſtance.

We are naturally anxious to know in what manner a ſovereign, long uſed to the pageantry of a court, could amuſe himſelf in priſon, deprived not only of all the comforts, but even the neceſſaries of life; and hiſtory has, in this inſtance, gratified our curioſity. During the firſt part of his confinement he employed himſelf in writing an apology for his own conduct, as well with reſpect to his brother John, as in relation to the cataſtrophe of the Stures. Several of the papers which he ſketched upon this occaſion ſtill exiſt. They are drawn up in the form of ſyllogiſms †, with the minuteſt attention to the

* Account of Livonia, p. 114.

† A ſpecimen of theſe ſyllogiſms may, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the reader: "He who aſſiſts my enemy, declares himſelf my enemy: John aſſiſted my enemies with money; ergo, he declares himſelf my enemy. He who favours the enemies of a kingdom, is an enemy of that kingdom: Nicholas Swanteſſon favoured the enemies of the kingdom; therefore he is an enemy of this kingdom. John is my ſubject, as well according to all the laws, as from his oath

the rules of logic, an extraordinary mode of conſolation to a depoſed ſovereign.

In the beginning of 1569, Eric was ſummoned before the ſtates aſſembled at Stockholm, and like Charles I. of England, brought to a trial by his ſubjects. His two brothers being preſent, the articles of accuſation were read; when Eric, whoſe capacity, naturally acute, was quickened by his misfortunes, anſwered the ſeveral charges with a warmth of eloquence and ſubtlety of argument which aſtoniſhed his accuſers. In the heat of diſpute, John reproached him with inſanity: "I never was inſane but once," the depoſed monarch replied, "and that was when I releaſed you from priſon." At the concluſion of this trial he was declared to have forfeited the crown by miſconduct and tyranny, and, being re-conducted to priſon, underwent additional calamities. He not only wanted occaſionally common neceſſaries; but, what afflicted him moſt ſtrongly, he was deprived of his books, which had hitherto afforded him ſome amuſement, and even of the ſociety of his wife and children. Although he wrote repeated letters to his brother, requeſting ſome alleviation of his diſtreſs, yet not the leaſt notice

oath of allegiance; therefore he cannot judge me who am his king, becauſe I enjoy the Swediſh law." Hiſt. de Eric XIV. p. 210.

was taken of theſe applications. However tyrannical we may eſteem his conduct while he ſat on the throne; yet ſuch unnatural cruelties, wantonly inflicted, reflect the utmoſt diſgrace upon the memory of his brother, and we almoſt loſe our abhorrence of Eric's former actions in our ſenſe of his calamitous ſituation.

The people, ſympathizing with the diſtreſs of the impriſoned ſovereign, began to condemn the extreme rigour of his treatment; and a ſtrong party meditated a revolt. On the diſcovery and ſuppreſſion of this conſpiracy, he was tranſferred to Abo in Finland, where he underwent a ſtill ſeverer confinement.

In 1570, he was impriſoned at Caſtleholm, in the iſle of Aland *, and in the autumn was removed to the caſtle of Gripſholm. Here his ſorrows were for a while alleviated by the preſence of his beloved Catharine; but he was again deprived of this comfort in 1573, on being tranſferred to Weſteros. In a letter to her, he complains bitterly of his ſeparation, and aſſures her of his unalterable attachment. He laments the miſeries of his own impriſonment, acquaints her that he had been confined in a dark dungeon for ſeven months, and was but juſt removed to a more comfortable apartment. "God forbid," he adds, "wherever you are, that you and your

* See Chap. 1. Book 7.

children

children ſhould experience any ſimilar ſeverity: forget not your beloved Eric, and break not the marriage-vow, to which I have always adhered with ſuch inviolable conſtancy." From Weſteros he was ſent, the following year, to Orebyhus, near Wendel, in the province of Upland, where he terminated his miſerable exiſtence.

Theſe frequent changes in the places of his impriſonment were occaſioned by the apprehenſions of John, who perceived that the nation began to compaſſionate his brother's wretched ſituation, and that many attempts were made to reſtore him to liberty. In conſequence of theſe alarms, John, in 1569, ſecretly laid before the ſenate the neceſſity of haſtening Eric's death; but though he found no difficulty in obtaining their conſent to that infamous propoſal, yet he deferred the execution. At length, as Eric had once nearly eſcaped from priſon, and as the number of his partizans encreaſed, John reſolved to inflict the ſentence of death. Accordingly, in 1577, he diſpatched his ſecretary to Oreby with a doſe of poiſon, and with directions in what manner to proceed; if Eric ſhould obſtinately refuſe to ſwallow the draught, the keeper was ordered to open his veins, or ſtrangle him under a mattreſs. There was, however, no occaſion for proceeding to force: the wretched ſufferer received the news of his ap-

proaching fate without emotion, and prepared for it with the utmoſt reſignation. On the 22d of February he partook of the ſacrament with the moſt fervent devotion, and on the 26th at noon, having ſwallowed the poiſon in a plate of ſoup, expired, in the ninth year of his impriſonment, and in the 45th of his age*. His body was tranſported to Weſteros, and interred in the cathedral, where the biſhop of that ſee preached a funeral ſermon from this remarkable text: "The kingdom is turned about and become my brother's; for it was his from the Lord." His tomb is a raiſed monument of plain ſtone. Upon the walls of the chapel are his arms; the three crowns as king of Sweden, the lion as duke of Finland, and the wheat-ſheaf, the device of the Vaſa family. The whole inſcription is E. R. or *Eric Rex*, in large characters, with a crown painted over each letter, and underneath the Latin text of the funeral ſermon preached at his interment, *Tranſlatum eſt regnum*, &c.

Eric, during the firſt part of his confinement, kept a diary, from which it appears, that his wife was the conſtant ſubject of his thoughts. During her abſence, writing to her was his al-

* The circumſtances of Eric's depoſition and impriſonment are principally ſelected from the Hiſtoire d'Eric XIV. by Celſius, Lib. XI. and XII.; and Dahlin's Geſchichte Von Sweden, Vol. III. p. 538, to p. 551; and Vol. IV. p. 66 to 68.

moſt

moſt daily occupation; and his letters breathe the moſt affectionate and warmeſt attachment. He ſoothed many hours of his impriſonment by muſic, in which he excelled both as a performer and compoſer. His books, when he was indulged in the uſe of them, afforded a pleaſing reſource; and he filled the margins with numerous remarks. He tranſlated into his native tongue, the hiſtory of the Swediſh kings, from the original of John Magnus, to which he added ſome Latin verſes on the character of each ſovereign. He compoſed two penitential pſalms, which are inſerted in the Swediſh Pſalter. His memorial on the cauſes of the war between himſelf and Frederic king of Denmark, his aſtronomical, or rather aſtrological obſervations, his treatiſe on the art of war, all written in the Latin tongue, prove his capacity and erudition.

Catharine, his wife, who was the daughter of a peaſant, ſurvived him. While an infant, Eric, ſtruck with her beauty, paid great attention to her education, and placed her in the court of his ſiſter Elizabeth. When ſhe arrived at years of maturity ſhe became his miſtreſs, and acquired, in a ſhort time, an extraordinary aſcendency over his capricious diſpoſition: an aſcendency derived from the graces of her perſon and the endowments of her

mind; but, according to the prevailing notions of the age, imputed to philters and love-potions. His attachment increaſing, inſtead of diminiſhing, by poſſeſſion, Eric (fruſtrated in his hopes of marrying ſeveral foreign princeſſes) eſpouſed her, after ſhe had borne him a natural ſon. During his confinement, Catharine gratefully returned his affection with equal eſteem and tenderneſs, and afforded to her unfortunate lord much conſolation in his miſery. She ſurvived her huſband many years; and ſuch was her prudent deportment, that ſhe conciliated the favour of John and Sigiſmond, and was permitted to paſs the remainder of her life in Finland in perfect tranquillity: ſhe died at Liuxdal, in 1612, and was buried in the cathedral of Abo.

Eric left two natural daughters by Agda, daughter of a rich merchant of Stockholm, Virginia and Conſtantia, both married in Sweden; and by Catharine four children, of whom only Guſtavus, and Sigrida, who eſpouſed count Tott, ſurvived their father.

Guſtavus, born in 1568, and declared ſucceſſor to the Swediſh crown, was, on his father's depoſition, impriſoned at Stockholm; and when Eric was removed to Abo, was encloſed in a ſack and delivered to an officer belonging to the

the court, who had orders to put him to death, and bury him at the extremity of the town. The officer proceeding, before day-break, to carry his barbarous command into execution, was obſerved by a Swediſh nobleman, who opened the ſack, and diſcovering the infant, reſcued him from deſtruction. Guſtavus, thus preſerved, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends of Eric, and received a wandering education *, in the convent of the Jeſuits of Braunſberg, at Thorn in Poliſh Pruſſia, and at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. In theſe different ſeminaries he made conſiderable progreſs in literature, and, in particular, diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his proficiency in chymiſtry, that he was called the ſecond Paracelſus †. He was no leſs remarkable for knowledge of languages, ſpeaking with fluency, beſide his native tongue, French, Italian, German, Poliſh, Ruſſian, and Latin. He was indeed ſo zealous in the proſecution of his ſtudies, that, on account of his indigent circumſtances, after attending the ſchools by day, he uſed in the evening to ply at the inns in the loweſt capacity, to procure a ſcanty ſubſiſtence. His literary acquiſitions, however, did not advance his fortune; for he paſſed an

* Meſſ. Scond. Illuſ. Lib. VII. p. 10. Dahlin, IV. p. 158.
† Dahlin, IV. p. 157.

unſettled life in the greateſt miſery, was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that he frequently had recourſe to charity, and, at other times, earned his livelihood by the meaneſt occupations.

In his extreme diſtreſs, he ventured to implore the aſſiſtance of his couſin Sigiſmond, king of Poland and Sweden, who perſuaded him to enter into the church, and conferred on him an abbey, from the revenues of which he ſubſiſted for ſome time at Thorn. Induced, however, to quit Poland, from a ſuſpicion of Sigiſmond, he accepted the preſſing invitations of Boris Godunof, who offered his daughter Irene in marriage, and his aſſiſtance to aſcend the throne of Sweden. Guſtavus, allured by theſe promiſes, repaired, in 1599, to Moſcow, where he was received with thoſe honours, which, according to the Ruſſian ceremonial, were only paid to ſovereign princes. But the tzar ſoon withdrew his friendſhip, broke off the intended alliance, and, in 1601, removed Guſtavus to Uglitz. It is uncertain whether this change in the tzar's ſentiments was occaſioned by the refuſal of the Swediſh prince to embrace the Greek religion; by his unwillingneſs to enter into hoſtilities againſt Sweden; by his want of ſpirit*; or becauſe the contract

* Meſſenius, when praiſing his piety and charitable diſpoſition, adds, "Tantaque fuerit plenus commiſeratione, ut nè paſſeris quidem,

contract of marriage between John prince of Denmark and the princeſs Irene, made his removal from Moſcow neceſſary. He reſided at Uglitz * until the acceſſion of Demetrius, who impriſoned him at Yaroſlaf for favouring Charles IX. king of Sweden. He was again releaſed by Vaſſili Shuiſki, on the aſſaſſination of Demetrius, and permitted to reſide at Kaſkin, where he expired in 1607; but whether by poiſon, or by a natural death, is not aſcertained.

March 7.—Between Weſteros and Arboga I changed horſes at the ſmall village of Kungſær;

dem, multò minus hominis, intueri potuerit internecionem. Hinc-que plus æquo fuerit puſillanimis, quæ ſubmiſſio mentis, non rarò illius poſuit fortunæ obſtaculum." Scond. Illuſt. Tom. VIII. p. 100.

* The Swediſh hiſtorians aſſert, that Guſtavus was ſo attached to his native country, that no motives could induce him to enter into hoſtilities againſt it, and that this was the ſole cauſe of his removal. The Ruſſians, on the contrary, affirm, that, Boris, finding him a prince without ſpirit and vigour, readily accepted the offer of the prince of Denmark to marry Irene; and therefore ſent Guſtavus to Uglitz. The Ruſſian and Swediſh hiſtorians differ alſo about his ſituation. According to the former, he reſided at Uglitz in great ſtate: according to the latter, he was treated as a priſoner. Perhaps both are in the right. He might reſide in ſtate, and yet be watched as a kind of priſoner. In confirmation of this account, Margaret, who was at Moſcow at the time, ſays, "that he was ſent in diſgrace to Uglitz; but had a revenue aſſigned to him of 4000 roubles per annum." Etat de la Ruſſ. p. 96. For the hiſtory of this Guſtavus, ſee Dahlin, Vol. IV. paſſim. Meſſ. Scond, III. paſſim. Celſius Hiſt. d'Eric XIV. p. 245 and 274. Muller S. R. G. V. p. 95 to 101, and 295.

where

where, tempted by the beauty of the ſituation, I roved about the environs, and on the banks of the Mæler. This lake is extremely beautiful; it contains ſeveral iſlands rich in wood and paſture; the ſhores are hilly, feathered with trees, and diverſified with villas and farm-houſes. The lake, at leaſt that part which I ſaw, was ſtill covered with ice, but no longer capable of bearing carriages. It is uſually frozen during a few weeks in winter, and opens an eaſy communication, by means of ſledges, with Stockholm.

Kungſær ſtands on the mouth of the rivulet Ulviſon, which flows into the weſtern extremity of the Mæler; and helps to form the communication between the lakes Mæler and Hielmar, by its junction with the canal of Arboga. Near Kungſær is an old wooden building, or kind of palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden, with a manege and ſtables for the royal ſtud. From Kungſær ſtretches, about nine miles, almoſt as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich paſture, which belongs to the king: it is watered by the Ulviſon, and ſkirted with gently riſing hills tufted with wood, produces great quantities of fine hay, and feeds a large number of cattle. I paſſed, in ſight of this ſmall plain, which is ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, through an undulating country,

try, and arrived at the canal of Arboga, which I croſſed over a draw-bridge. An inſcription informed me that the ſluice was begun by Charles XI. and finiſhed under the reign of his ſon Charles XII.

"Hoc aquarum repagulum juſſu Auguſtiſſimi quondam Suecorum Regis Caroli XI. nunc in cœlis beati anno MDCXCI. inchoatum, ultimam manum ſceptra gerente Suevica Auguſtiſſimo Carolo XII. feliciter recepit MDCIO."

Finding little worthy of notice in Arboga, I haſtened to Orebro, the capital of Nerike, where I paſſed the night: it ſtands near the weſtern extremity of the lake Hielmar, and is the largeſt town which I viſited ſince I quitted Stockholm. Upon a ſmall iſland in the centre, formed by two branches of the Swart, ſtands the caſtle, formerly a royal reſidence: it is an old ſquare building of brick and ſtone white-waſhed, and is appropriated to the governor of the province. The inhabitants ſend iron, vitriol, and red paint to Stockholm; and the trade with that capital acroſs the Hielmar and Mœler, by means of the canal of Arboga, is very conſiderable. The town poſſeſſes manufactories of fire-arms, cloth, and tapeſtry. On quitting Orebro, I traverſed that part of the province of Nerike which lies between the lakes Hielmar and Wenner;

ner; a fertile diſtrict, abounding in corn, paſture, and foreſt. Towards the cloſe of the day, I entered the province of Weſt Gothland, and paſſed the night in a peaſant's cottage at Hofva, a ſmall place, not far diſtant from the lake Skager.

March 9.—At noon I arrived at Marieſtadt, a town built by Charles IX. on the rivulet Tidla, where it falls into the lake Wenner. A new priſon of brick, ſtuccoed white, makes a finer appearance than any of the houſes, which are moſtly built with wood, and painted of a red colour. From Marieſtadt I continued my route for ſome time, at a ſmall diſtance from the Wenner, the largeſt lake in Sweden, being nearly ninety miles in length, and forty in breadth. The ſhores in this part being low and level, the view over the ſurface of the water appears boundleſs like a ſea. I paſſed through Lidkioping, which carries on a conſiderable inland trade acroſs the Wenner, and down the river Gotha to Gotheborg. I ſtopped the night at the ſmall village of Malby, and arrived the next morning at Trolhætta, through a dreary country, conſiſting chiefly of barren heaths, with ridges of rock almoſt naked. This village, containing ſcarcely a dozen houſes, is ſituated cloſe to the cataracts of the river Gotha, and is well known

known from the ſtupendous works, with a view to open a paſſage for veſſels, by means of a navigable cut, called the Canal of Trolhætta.

This canal forms part of a plan, long projected by the Swedes, to unite the Baltic and German Ocean by an inland navigation; as well for improving the interior trade, as preventing the interruption of their foreign commerce, which is always the conſequence of a war with Denmark.

Guſtavus Vaſa was the firſt ſovereign who appreciated the utility of ſuch an inland navigation, when he made Lodeſe (now Gotheborg) a ſtaple-town of trade, that the merchant-ſhips bound to Sweden might not be obliged to ſail through the Sound; and he conceived hopes, that, in ſome future period, the merchandize might be tranſported from thence to Stockholm, by means of the Wenner, Hielmar, and Mæler, when the rivers and lakes uniting with them ſhould be rendered navigable *. Eric XIV. deſirous to carry his father's deſigns into execution, gave orders for ſurveying the waters communicating with theſe lakes; and directed plans to be formed for joining them by artificial canals †. But the execution of his great ſchemes

* Dahlin, vol. III. p. 115. † Hiſt. d'Eric XIV.

was

was fruſtrated by the turbulence and misfortunes of his reign.

Several ſucceeding ſovereigns had this great object in view. Charles IX. promoted it by the Carlſgraf canal, and Charles XI. by that of Arboga; but a water-communication acroſs the whole country was always conſidered as a work of extreme difficulty. According to Motraye, Guſtavus Adolphus was inclined to encourage the deſign; but no perſon could be found in Sweden bold enough to engage in the undertaking: he adds, that Charles XI. ſent for ſome Dutch engineers, who, after levelling the ground, between the Wenner and the Hielmar, declared it impracticable. Difficulties, however inſurmountable they might appear to perſons of more ſober underſtanding, were no obſtacle to the genius of Charles XII. who approved the propoſal of the celebrated engineer, Polhem, for rendering the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable, and for opening a communication, not only between Gotheborg and Stockholm, but alſo with the Wenner, the Vetter, and Nordkioping, ſufficient for the paſſage of large veſſels*. This plan was immediately begun by order of Charles, and, though interrupted by his death, revived with freſh vigour under Adolphus Frederic.

* Voyages de Motraye, vol. II. p. 282. 306.

This

This plan may be divided into three principal parts. 1. The junction of the Mæler and the Hielmar; 2. Of the Hielmar with the Wenner; 3. Of the Wenner with the German Ocean.

1. Of the junction of the Mæler with the Hielmar. Theſe two lakes are united by the Ulviſon, and the canal of Arboga. The Ulviſon riſes to the weſt of Arboga, flows through the town, and falls into the Mæler at Kungſær. The canal of Arboga is cut from the Hielmar, and continued to the Ulviſon about half a mile to the eaſt of the town. It was begun in the reign of Chriſtina; but being only calculated for ſmall veſſels, was widened and deepened by order of Charles XI. and completed under Charles XII. It belonged to the crown until 1769; at which period it was ſo much neglected as to be almoſt uſeleſs; but a company of ſeven merchants of Orebro undertook to cleanſe and repair it at their own expence, on condition of receiving the toll of the veſſels which ſhould paſs through it. The canal is, excepting in a few parts, ſufficiently broad to receive two barks abreaſt; the loweſt depth is 8 feet*. It is chiefly ſupplied with water from the lake Hielmar, which is 80 feet perpendicular higher than

* The foot uſed in this chapter is the Swediſh, which differs but little from the Engliſh. The proportion of the Engliſh being to that of the Swediſh, as 1027 to 1000.

its

its level. And this fall is broken by eight ſluices, and admits the ſame kind of veſſels which navigate the lakes, decked and ſingle maſted; 76 feet long; and about 43 tons burden, and drawing between ſix and ſeven feet water.

2. In order to join the Hielmar and Wenner, it was propoſed to open the navigation of the Swart-an, which falls into the weſtern extremity of the Hielmar at Orebro, to make a cut to the lake Morken, from thence by the Letan to the Skager, and from the Skager by the Gullſpang to the Wenner. But as theſe rivers are for the moſt part ſo ſhallow and ſtony, that it would be extremely difficult to render them navigable, and as the faint attempts hitherto made upon the Gullſpang have failed of ſucceſs; it has been propoſed to cut a canal directly from the lake Morken to Chriſtinehamn, which is ſituated on the eaſtern ſhore of the Wenner. As this project, however, would be attended with great difficulties, there is little proſpect that this branch of the great undertaking, the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, will be completed *.

* From the almoſt inſuperable difficulties attending the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, a plan was projected of forming an inland navigation from the eaſtern coaſt of Sweden ſouth of the Mæler, by means of the Wetter to the Wenner, and in 1774 a map was publiſhed for the purpoſe of proving the ſcheme to be practicable.

3. The

3. The junction of the Wenner with the German Ocean, might be accompliſhed by the river Gotha, which iſſues from the ſouthern extremity of the lake near Wennerſborg, and, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, falls into the ſea near Gotheborg; provided that river could be rendered navigable throughout its whole courſe. But as numerous ſhoals and cataracts intervene, the communication has been attempted by the Carlſgraf canal, the canal of Trolhætta, and the ſluices of Akerſtræm and Edet, which I ſhall ſeparately deſcribe.

The Carlſgraf canal, ſo called from Charles IX. by whom it was commenced, connects the Wenner with that part of the Gotha where it is firſt navigable. By order of Charles XII. Polhem erected a ſluice, which, not being conſtructed on a firm foundation, was ſcarcely finiſhed before it was carried away by the water. From that time the canal remained without a ſluice, until 1754, when a new ſluice was finiſhed, which received the appellation of Teſſin, in honour of the prime miniſter. It was formed by a ſubterraneous paſſage, 40 feet long, 18 broad, and 12 high. But theſe dimenſions being too ſmall for veſſels of more than 40 tons burden, another ſluice, called, in honour of the preſent king, the ſluice of Guſtavus, was completed in 1768. This ſuperb work is a cut of 400 feet,

partly perforated through the ſolid rock, and conſiſts of two locks, each 200 feet in length, and 36 in breadth: the ſides are ſtrongly faced with brick and ſtone. The greateſt depth of water is 13, the loweſt 6 feet. The uſual veſſels which navigate this canal are of 80 tons burden; but when the water is high, larger may paſs: in 1777 one of 133 tons worked its way through.

From the end of this canal to the village of Trolhætta, which includes a ſpace of five miles, the navigation of the Gotha is uninterrupted: it flows in a gentle current, varies in breadth from 300 yards to a mile, and is, in a few parts, prettily ſprinkled with iſlands, ſome barren rock, others tufted with wood and covered with arable ſoil. Near Trolhætta two ridges of mountains, which on each ſide run at a ſmall diſtance from the river, approach the banks, and confine the ſtream in a narrow channel. In this ſpot it is about 400 feet in breadth, as ſmooth as a lake, and without any viſible current: a fine contraſt to the roaring of the torrent below. This ſmoothneſs of the water continues till it burſts at once into the cataracts of Trolhætta, called the Gulfs of Hell, which render all farther navigation impoſſible. The bed of the river is ſolid rock; the banks are perpendicular; and, at the beginning of the fall, ſeveral granite iſlands,

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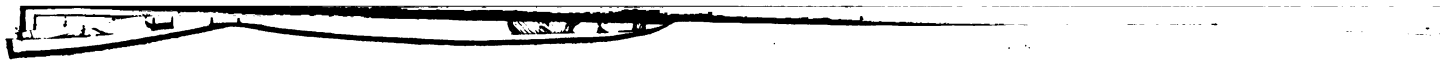

iſlands, thinly ſtrewed with underwood, junipers, and ſtubbed pines, riſe in the midſt of the ſtream, forming ſmall ſtraits, down which the water daſhes with increaſing impetuoſity.

From the firſt opening of the fall to the part where the river again becomes navigable, is about two miles; but it does not roll through the whole of this ſpace in one uniform ſheet of water, or with equal violence. It is divided into four principal cataracts, ſeparated by whirlpools and eddies; forming, during the whole way, the moſt awful ſcenes, ever varying, and too ſublime to be deſcribed. The perpendicular height of all the falls is 100 feet. From this deſcription the reader will readily conceive the extreme difficulty of rendering theſe cataracts navigable; and yet through the midſt of them the daring projector attempted to form a canal, by the works which are marked in the annexed plan.

Juſt above the firſt cataract, called Praſtenkeſdet Fall, ſeveral dams were conſtructed, which turned the ſtream, and left the main bed of the river dry. In this part ſome rocky iſlands were cut through, or blown up; the bed was rendered level, and the cataract nearly turned into ſtill water. To continue the navigation, an iſland of red granite, called Malg, which riſes in the midſt of the great cataract, was divided,

and a canal formed though it of 340 feet in length, including a ſluice of 30: the depth of the fall, and, conſequently, the depth of the perforated rock, is 23½ feet; the breadth 18. This is called Ekerbrad ſluice, and was deſigned to conſiſt of two locks. At a ſmall diſtance another canal was formed on the ſide of the ſecond great cataract, through a kind of promontory which projects into the ſtream; the ſolid granite was hollowed 860 feet in length, 56½ in depth, and 18 in breadth. This ſluice, called Polhem's ſluice, was to conſiſt of three locks, to let veſſels down a fall of 56½ feet. At the diſtance of 2920 feet, a third cut was made cloſe to Flateberg's fall, terminating in the ſluice of Elvius; the length of the cut is 28 feet, the breadth 18, and the depth or height of the fall 34½. To form ſome idea in what manner the navigation was to be continued from the ſluice of Polhem to that of Elvius, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort delineation of the intervening ſpace.

A little below the ſluice of Polhem the river daſhes through a narrow paſs called Stampſtræm, gradually widens into a kind of bay, named Hoyan's Warp, by rocks is again confined in a narrow channel, and forms a cataract, called Helvert's Fall, at the extremity of which it expands into a ſmall baſon, called

led Oli-Halla, and then again precipitates itſelf at Flateberg's Fall, from whence it becomes navigable. Inſtead of continuing any works through the cataracts, or by the ſide of the river, the communication between the ſluices of Polhem and Elvius was attempted in the following manner. A dyke of ſtone was conſtructed acroſs the river juſt below Flateberg's Fall and the ſluice of Elvius, with a view of raiſing the water 34 feet and ½, turning its courſe through the ſluice of Elvius, and forming a level with the bottom of that of Polhem.

The king himſelf viſited the work, and all Sweden was in eager expectation, that the national hopes would at length be realized. The dyke was built; the river had riſen 12 feet of the 34; but, in an inſtant, the weight of waters burſt the barrier, too feeble to reſtrain them, and ſwept away, in one moment, the labours and expence of ſeveral years *. Large ſubſidies had been annually raiſed for the proſecution of the work; and the national bank had readily advanced ſtill greater loans; the extent of which has never been divulged. The failure of the project, after ſuch immenſe labour and enormous expence, occaſioned great diſcontents among the people; many of whom to this day believe,

* The immenſity of the expence will be beſt conceived by conſidering, that all the cuts were made through the ſolid granite, the hardeſt of all ſtones.

though without foundation, that the projectors, bribed by the Danes, purpoſely proceeded on an impracticable plan. But this much is evident, that, throughout the whole undertaking, the works, ſtupendous in themſelves, were conducted without reaſonable care and attention; for the cuts, which were excavated with ſuch difficulty, being only 18 feet in breadth, would have been too narrow to admit veſſels of ſuch ſize and burden as uſually navigate the Wenner. In a word, ſeveral injudicious meaſures were adopted; for greater obſtacles have been ſurmounted. But Polhem was not a Brindley.

In conſequence of this failure, all the works were neglected, as totally uſeleſs, and a new plan for the canal projected; according to which, inſtead of being carried along the channel of the river, it will be cut through the ſolid rock that forms its banks. The plan of this laſt project is laid down in the annexed engraving. The length is to be 4700 feet, the breadth 36, and the depth in ſome parts above 50. It is to conſiſt of nine ſluices; and when we reflect that the whole of this cut muſt be hollowed through the red granite, it will, perhaps, be attended with as many, if not more difficulties, than were experienced in the former attempt. It muſt by no means, however, be condemned as impracticable. The canal of the duke of Bridgewater,

that of Languedoc, and the road down the Gemmi in Switzerland, prove that ſcarcely any thing is impoſſible to human perſeverance.

The chief queſtion, in this reſpect, ſeems to be; whether the enormous expence attending the execution of the work would be compenſated by the advantages reſulting from the completion? And here, if we merely conſider the navigation from the Wenner to Gotheborg, we may venture to decide in the negative. But ſhould we preſume, that at any future period a communication may be formed from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Wenner; as in that caſe the cataracts of Trolhætta would be the only remaining interruption to the inland navigation from the eaſtern to the weſtern coaſt of Sweden, the completion of this canal cannot be obtained at too dear a rate.

Guſtavus the third, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, viſited Trolhætta, wiſely ordered the works to be ſuſpended, except the ſluices of Guſtavus and Aker. Meanwhile, to facilitate the tranſport of merchandize from the diſtricts bordering on the Wenner to Gotheborg, a wooden road has been conſtructed on the ſide of the river, from the beginning to the end of the cataracts; it is ſupported on poſts over the rocks, which, from their irregularity and roughneſs, would have been almoſt impaſſable for horſes.

About a mile below the cataracts, the courſe of the Gotha is again interrupted by a fall, called Akerſtræm; where a canal has been made through a rock which projected into the river; the length is 182 feet, including the ſluice, depth 26, and breadth 36. This cut was begun in 1774; was far advanced when I ſaw it, and was expected to be opened in 1781.

From Akerſtræm the river is clear to Gotheborg, excepting at Edet, where a bed of rocks riſes in the midſt of the ſtream. On one ſide of theſe rocks another cut has been made, 600 feet in length, 20 in depth, but only 18 in breadth. The work is ill executed; and, when I was there, was in bad order. A petition had been preſented to the king, that it might be repaired and extended to the ſame breadth as Akerſluice, and there was no doubt of its being effected.

The iron and other merchandize, is now tranſported acroſs the lake to Wennerſborg, through the Carlſgraf canal, and down the river Gotha to Trolhætta. At the cataracts, the goods are unloaded, carried over the wooden road two miles to the end of the falls, again embarked, and paſſing through the Akerſtræm and Edet ſluices, arrive without further impediment at Gotheborg. In return, ſalt, ſpices, corn, tea, and other commodities of interior conſumption, are

are ſent up by the ſame channel into the provinces about the Wenner.

In 1784, I found the works at Trolhætta little advanced ſince my former viſit, in March 1779. A new plan is projected for cutting the intended canal through the precipitous rock of granite which forms the banks of the Gotha; a plan more practicable and leſs expenſive than the former, for the loweſt depth of rock to be excavated is 20 feet. Of this projected canal only a ſquare of 60 feet had been executed*.

The defect of Polhem's original plan, in attempting to make the ſluices near the channel of the Gotha, was experienced laſt year; for the dam, which ſtopped the water above Ekerbrad cut, was overthrown by the violence of the river; and the waters burſt through the cuts of Ekerbrad and Polhem, and would have deſtroyed the ſluices had they been conſtructed.

From Trolhætta we ſailed down the river Gotha, paſſed through the ſluice at Aker, and diſembarked at the ſluice of Edet, which was ſo nearly completed, that the navigation from the Wenner to Gotheborg may now be conſidered as uninterrupted.

Having examined the ſluice of Edet, we croſſed the Gotha, diſembarked at a ſmall

* All the works of this ſtupendous plan were finiſhed, and the canal opened on the 14th of Auguſt, 1800. Hamburgh Politiſches Journal, p. 940.

village,

village, and continued along the weſtern bank, through a wild and rocky country, interſected with vallies of corn and paſture. We paſſed through Kongſhall, now a ſmall village, conſiſting of one ſtreet of wooden cottages, at the bottom of a ridge of barren rock, ſaid to have been formerly the reſidence of the antient dukes or kings of Norway.

CHAP. 10.

Gotheborg.—Trade.—Eaſt India Company.—Herring Fiſhery.—Remarks on the Commerce of Sweden.—Journey from Gotheborg to Carlſcrona.—Cottages, food, manners of the peaſants.

THE ſcenery of the country from Trolhætta to Gotheborg is wild and romantic beyond deſcription. Innumerable ridges of barren rocks ſtretch in all directions; and between them lie fertile plains, which ſeldom exceed a mile in breadth, watered by the Gotha: The mountains, which are of granite, are deſtitute of trees, and many of them ſcarcely exhibit the ſmalleſt appearance of vegetation. In this part of Sweden I obſerved none of thoſe detached fragments of granite, which abundantly overſpread many of the inland provinces, and the coaſt bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia.

In moſt places the river flows with a gentle current, and in a narrow channel, and is in ſome parts navigable only for ſmall craft of 20 tons burden. About ten miles from Gotheborg it divides into three branches; two unite again after encircling a ſmall rocky iſland, crowned with

with the fort of Bohus; a picturesque object, much celebrated in the early history of Sweden, and at that time deemed impregnable. The stream formed by the union of the two branches is called the Northern River, and falls into the sea after a course of ten miles. The third branch, which I followed to Gotheborg, retains the original name of Gotha: the space included between the Northern River and the Gotha is named the island of Hisingen.

Gotheborg, distinguished by a commodious port, stands near the site of Lodese, a town built by Gustavus Vasa, which being endowed with considerable privileges, soon became the great emporium for the trade of the western provinces. Charles IX. when duke of Gothland, having, in 1604, laid the foundations of a new town in the island of Hisingen at no great distance from Lodese, called it Gotheborg, in honour of his duchy. On his accession to the throne, he erected in his new town a trading company; drew thither many foreigners, particularly the Dutch, to whom he allowed an exemption from all duties of export and import during twenty years; established a corps of English and Scotch troops, under the command of William Stewart, and granted to the Calvinists the free exercise of their religion, the first place in Sweden where this toleration was permitted.

By

By theſe means Gotheborg ſoon became a flouriſhing port*, and, next to Stockholm, the moſt commercial town in Sweden. Being in 1611 reduced to aſhes by the Danes, it was rebuilt in the reign of Guſtavus Adolphus on the preſent ſite, and obtained a confirmation of its antient rights, with the grant of ſeveral additional privileges.

Gotheborg is built in a ſingular ſituation. At a ſmall diſtance from the ſea is a marſhy plain, ſcarcely more than half a mile in breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Moldal, and almoſt incloſed with high ridges of rocks, ſo bare and rugged, that they ſcarcely produce a ſingle blade of graſs, and exhibit as barren an appearance as the ſummits of the loftieſt Alps. Gotheborg ſtands partly on the ridges, and partly in the plain, and is divided into the Upper and Lower Town. The latter is entirely level, interſected by ſeveral canals in the manner of the Dutch towns, and the houſes are conſtructed on

* A medal was ſtruck in 1610, comparing this ſudden increaſe of Gotheborg to the growth of a tree from a ſlip: on one ſide the king's name and title, with an inſcription, "Gotheb. Prin. Fund. & Condit." On the reverſe a large tree, from which hang ſuſpended the arms of Gotheborg; beneath are the river Gotha, and the fortreſs Elfsborg, with the following motto:—

Quæ præbet latas arbor ſpatiantibus umbras,
Quo poſita eſt primum tempore virga fuit.

Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 422.

piles:

piles: the upper part hangs on the declivities; and rows of buildings riſe one above the other like the ſeats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified; and the circumference is near three miles, excluſive of the ſuburbs, called Haga, which lie towards the harbour. The ſtreets are uniformly ſtraight: a few of the houſes are of brick, but the generality conſtructed with wood painted red. The harbour, formed by two chains of rocks, is about a quarter of a mile in breadth; and the entrance is defended by the fort of New Elfsborg, which ſtands on a ſmall rocky iſland, and contains a garriſon of 250 men.

A Royal Society of Sciences and Literature has been lately eſtabliſhed at Gotheborg, on the plan of that of Upſala. The Acts, which are written in the Swediſh tongue, and printed in octavo, contain diſquiſitions on various ſubjects in the ſeveral branches of ſcience, natural hiſtory, antiquities, hiſtory, and polite letters.

I was informed by a merchant who had reſided two and twenty years at Gotheborg, that, during that period, the population has increaſed conſiderably, and now amounts to 20,000 ſouls. This flouriſhing ſtate is undoubtedly owing to the extenſion of its commerce, particularly to the Eaſt India Company, and the ſucceſs of the herring fiſhery.

In

In 1731 a company of merchants was eſtabliſhed, with the excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies for 15 years; and after various alterations of their charter, the monopoly was, at the laſt renewal, confirmed for 20 years; on condition that the company ſhould advance to government a loan of £.124,980, one third without intereſt, and ſhould pay £.3,125 for every veſſel trading to the Eaſt Indies. The port of Stockholm, in the Gulf of Bothnia, being cloſed with ice until the ſeaſon is too far advanced for ſhips to take their departure to the Eaſt Indies, the company carries on its commerce from Gotheb[illegible], whoſe harbour, ſituated in the German Ocean, is more open. The following is the nature of this traffic: Sweden containing little ſpecie, and few manufactures for exportation, the captain of each veſſel proceeds to Cadiz, where he borrows, in the company's name, 100,000 piaſtres, at the intereſt of 30 per cent.; he then ſails to Canton, and purchaſes tea, porcelain, and other Chineſe commodities, which, on his return to Sweden, are advantageouſly diſpoſed of. The uſual net profit on the whole cargo being 70 per cent. the gain, on deducting the intereſt, amounts to 40 per cent.

In 1740, the herrings, which had not hitherto uſually approached the weſtern ſhore of Sweden,

Sweden, flocking in ſhoals, the inhabitants of Gotheborg eſtabliſhed a fiſhery, which has been attended with conſiderable advantage. The increaſing produce will appear from the following table:

	* Barrels.		Barrels.
In 1752 -	1000	In 1762 -	142,091
1753 -	20,766	1763 -	186,614½
1754 -	52,828	1764 -	99,616¼
1755 -	74,791	1768 -	151,483
1761 -	117,212¼		

The fiſhery begins in November, and though it continues ſcarcely three weeks, yet ſupplies to the fiſhermen of Gotheborg not leſs than 600,000 barrels.

As the coaſts are rocky, and the ſea is ſprinkled with innumerable iſlands, the herrings are thus caught: Eight boats, manned each with two or three fiſhermen, draw one large net, encloſing a ſhoal of herrings, into a creek or ſmall bay, and the fiſh are ſhovelled on the ſhore into conſiderable heaps. Of the 600,000 barrels, 200,000 are ſalted, and train oil drawn from the remainder. Fifteen barrels of herrings yield one of oil, which is principally exported to Holland and Spain.

A barrel of herrings ſold in 1785, on an average, for 1*s*. 3*d*. and when ſalted from 8*s*. to 10*s*.

* A barrel contains 1000 herrings.

Theſe

Theſe fiſh are not ſo fine as thoſe caught and cured by the Dutch, but being much cheaper, are preferred by the Ruſſians and Poles. The ſalt is procured from Spain, and one barrel cures three barrels of herrings. We may eſtimate the average exportation of ſalted herrings at 150,000 barrels, and the inland conſumption of Sweden at 50,000.

An Engliſh conſul and factory reſide at Gotheborg; and a chapel, with a regular chaplain, is appropriated for their uſe.

According to Cantzler *, whoſe accurate account of Sweden cannot be too much recommended to the curious reader, of the export trade of Sweden, Stockholm carries on $\frac{7}{11}$, Gotheborg $\frac{2}{11}$, and the other ſtaple towns $\frac{4}{11}$; of the import commerce, Stockholm $\frac{1}{2}$, Gotheborg $\frac{1}{4}$, and the other towns $\frac{1}{4}$.

The fortifications of Gotheborg are ſo weak, and the garriſon in general ſo ſmall, that in 1788 it muſt have fallen into the hands of the Danes, who, under the pretence of an alliance with Ruſſia, attacked the Swedes, and marched from Norway to the gates of Gotheborg, had not foreign powers interfered.

The king of Sweden hurried from Dalecarlia, where he was animating the natives to arm in his defence, to Carlſtadt, where he was met by

* Memoires ſur les Affaires Polit. et Econom. de Suede, p. 374.

Mr. Elliot, the Engliſh miniſter to the court of Denmark. Guſtavus having accepted the mediation of England, Pruſſia, and Holland, Mr. Elliot undertook to ſtop the further progreſs of the Daniſh army; an event which he fortunately accompliſhed at the very inſtant the Daniſh troops were taking poſſeſſion of Bohus, and within a few hours march of Gotheborg. Mean while the king repaired to Gotheborg, arrived at the gates ſo unexpectedly, and at ſo late an hour, that he had great difficulty in gaining admiſſion; and the Daniſh herald, who the next morning ſummoned the town to ſurrender, was ſurpriſed on being informed by his majeſty, that the citizens would defend their ramparts to the laſt extremity. But neither the preſence or courage of Guſtavus, who infuſed new ſpirit into the inhabitants, could have ſaved Gotheborg, if the Engliſh miniſter had not ſtopped the progreſs of the Daniſh army. The firſt armiſtice, concluded under his mediation and guarantee, was only for eight days, but was afterwards prolonged for a month, when he ſigned the final convention at Uddevalla for the evacuation of Sweden. The prince of Heſſe retreated into Norway; Gotheborg was ſaved from pillage, Sweden from diſmemberment, and Europe from a general war.

As the diſtricts which I paſſed from Upſala to Trolhætta

Trolhætta are eſteemed the fineſt and moſt populous parts of Sweden; thoſe which I traverſed from Gotheborg to Carlſcrona, through the province of Smoland, are ſaid to be the wildeſt, leaſt inhabited, and moſt uncultivated regions of the kingdom. The diſtance between Gotheborg and Carlſcrona is 58 Swediſh, or 247 Engliſh miles, and in this extent, only one place dignified with the name of a town preſented itſelf. The villages, for the moſt part, conſiſted of ſix or ſeven houſes, and ſometimes, where I ſtopped to change horſes, I found nothing but a ſingle ſolitary cottage; yet, along this ſeemingly inhoſpitable track, I met with good roads, tolerable accommodations, and a cheerful and contented peaſantry.

March 16.—I quitted Gotheborg, and paſſed over a ſucceſſion of barren rocks with few trees, ſimilar to thoſe which ſtretch along the coaſts of the German Ocean near Gotheborg. As I advanced, the country became ſomewhat more fertile; hills of granite appeared leſs frequent, but large maſſes were ſcattered over the face of the country. The region which I traverſed in this and the following day, though wild, and not capable of much cultivation, was yet infinitely diverſified. It was a hilly diſtrict, in many parts overſpread with foreſts of pines, beech, and oak, interſperſed with paſture and

ſmall plains of arable land, ſprinkled with picturesque lakes, and watered by numberleſs rivulets, clear as chryſtal, and gurgling over their ſtony channels.

During one poſt of this day's route, a peaſant's daughter, not more than ſeventeen or eighteen, performed the part of poſtillion. The roads being exceedingly ſteep, it required ſome ſtrength, and much dexterity, to direct the horſes, and prevent the carriage from being overturned; I propoſed therefore that my ſervant, who was an expert driver, ſhould take the reins. But the girl, offended at my doubts, rejected my propoſal; and placing herſelf in the poſtillion's ſeat, drove off at full ſpeed, governing the horſes in ſuch a ſkilful manner, that ſhe ſoon quieted my apprehenſions, and we arrived at the end of the poſt without the ſlighteſt alarm; nor was I for the future in the leaſt apprehenſive of truſting the reins to the guidance of a country girl.

I paſſed the night at Hunnaryd in a peaſant's cottage, and ſet off early in the morning; but had not proceeded far before I was obliged to ſtop at Giſlavy, to repair a wheel of my carriage: the place contained but one ſmith, who had lately become blind; and as none of the wheels in the village would fit the axle-tree, I purchaſed a new axle-tree and four wheels, for the

the ſum of £.1. 16*s.* upon which the body of the cart being placed, I proceeded on my journey. A little beyond Giſlavy, I croſſed a rivulet near an iron foundery; the native ore is procured in ſmall round pieces, about the ſize of pea-ſhot, from the bottom of a neighbouring lake, and forged into excellent iron.

Soon afterwards, I quitted the mountainous diſtrict, and deſcended gradually into a ſandy plain, diverſified with woods, lakes, and corn-fields. About ſeven miles from Vernamo, where I took my ſtation for the night, I again entered in a hilly country, and advanced to Wexio; a town ſeated on the banks of a pleaſant lake, which contained a groupe of woody iſlands. The town, though a biſhop's ſee, is exceedingly ſmall: the houſes are moſtly of wood; the inhabitants chiefly ſubſiſt by traffic in the cattle, that graze in the luxuriant paſtures, with which the intervals of the moſt barren mountains and extenſive foreſts are occaſionally enriched.

As in the courſe of this route I conſtantly took my repaſt during the day, and reſted the night in the cottages, I had frequent opportunities of obſerving the cuſtoms, manners, and food of the peaſants. On entering a cottage, I uſually found all the family employed in carding flax, ſpinning thread, and in weaving coarſe linen, or cloth. The peaſants are excellent

contrivers, and apply the coarſeſt materials to ſome uſeful purpoſe; they twiſt ropes from hogs' briſtles, horſes' manes, and bark of trees, and uſe eel-ſkins for bridles. Their food principally conſiſts of ſalted fleſh and fiſh, eggs, milk, and hard bread. At Michaelmas they uſually kill their cattle, and ſalt them for the enſuing Winter and Spring. Twice a year they bake bread in large round cakes, which are ſtrung on files of ſticks, ſuſpended from the ceilings of the cottages: this bread is ſo hard as to be occaſionally broken with a hatchet, but is not unpleaſant. The peaſants uſe beer for common drink, and are much addicted to malt ſpirits. In the diſtricts towards the weſtern coaſts, and at no great diſtance inland, tea and coffee are not unuſually found in the cottages, which are procured in great plenty, and at a cheap rate from Gotheborg.

The peaſants are well clad in ſtrong cloth of their own weaving. Their cottages, though built with wood, and only of one ſtory, are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family ſleep is provided with ranges of beds in tiers (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf), one above the other: on the wooden teſters of the beds in which the women lie, are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they aſcend by ladders. To a perſon who has juſt

juſt quitted Germany, and been accuſtomed to tolerable inns, the Swediſh cottages may perhaps appear miſerable hovels; but to me, who had been long uſed to places of far inferior accommodation in Ruſſia, they ſeemed comfortable places of reception. The traveller is able to procure many conveniencies, and particularly a ſeparate room from that inhabited by the family, which could ſeldom be obtained in the Poliſh and Ruſſian villages. During my courſe through thoſe two countries, a bed was a phænomenon which ſeldom occurred, excepting in the large towns, and even then not always completely equipped; but the pooreſt huts of Sweden were never deficient in this article of comfort: an evident proof that the Swediſh peaſants are more civilized than thoſe of Poland and Ruſſia. After having witneſſed the ſlavery of the peaſants in thoſe two countries, it was a pleaſing ſatisfaction to find myſelf again among freemen, in a kingdom where a more equal diviſion of property prevails; where there is no vaſſalage, and where the loweſt order enjoy a ſecurity of their perſons and property.

On the 18th at noon I quitted the province of Smoland, and entered Blekinge. As I approached the ſhore towards Carlſcrona, ridges of granite again made their appearance, ſometimes bare, ſometimes covered with heath, or

clothed with foreſt. About half a mile from Carlſcrona we came upon a fine view of that town, ſtanding in an iſland.

During a fortnight's progreſs from Stockholm to Carlſcrona, through a tract of about 500 Engliſh miles, the weather was ſo clear, dry, and delightful, that I felt no inconvenience from travelling in an open cart. There was a gentle froſt at night and morning; but the remaining part of the day was cheered with a genial ſun. The Spring, indeed, of 1779 was remarkably forward and exceedingly mild. The port of Carlſcrona, which is frequently cloſed with ice until April, was open early in March. The peaſants of Upland and Weſtmanland ſeldom till their lands before April*; but I obſerved, during my paſſage through thoſe provinces in the beginning of March, that the huſbandmen had already begun to plough the fields, and to ſow barley and oats. The rapid progreſs of vegetation in theſe northern regions was extremely viſible from the quick ſhooting of the paſture and young corn, which, though the ſnow had only been melted three weeks, were in a flouriſhing ſtate.

I was greatly ſurprized to find that Sweden would yield ſufficient grain for the interior conſumption of the inhabitants; if large quantities

* Am. Acad. p. 372; alſo Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 153.

were

were not employed in the diſtillation of malt ſpirits. The northern parts of Sweden and Finland produce excellent rye, the ſouthern provinces wheat, oats, and barley. The wheat and rye are ſown in the middle of Auguſt, and reaped in the ſame month of the following year. Barley and oats are conſigned to the ground in Spring on the melting of the ſnow; the barley is cut towards the end of Auguſt, and the oats about the middle of September.

CHAP. II.

Carlſcrona.—New docks.—Swediſh fleet.—Sailors.—Chriſtianſtadt.—Helſingborg.—Remarks on the mode of travelling in Sweden.—Poſt-horſes.—Roads.—Similarity of expreſſions in the Engliſh and Swediſh languages.

CARLSCRONA derives its origin and name from Charles XI. who laid the foundations of a new town in 1680, and removed the fleet from Stockholm to this port, on account of the advantageous ſituation, and ſecurity of the harbour. The greater part of Carlſcrona* ſtands upon a ſmall rocky iſland, which riſes gently in a bay of the Baltic; the ſuburbs extend over another ſmall rock, and along the mole cloſe to the baſon where the fleet is moored. The way into the town from the main land is carried over a dyke, and along two wooden bridges joined by a barren rock. The town is ſpacious, contains about 18,000 inhabitants, one or two handſome churches, and a few tolerable houſes of brick; but the generality of buildings are of wood. The ſuburbs are

* In 1790 Carlſcrona ſuffered conſiderably from a dreadful conflagration. Voyage de deux François, Tom. II. p. 9.

fortified towards the land by a ſtone wall. The entrance into the harbour, which by nature is extremely difficult, from a number of ſhoals and rocky iſlands, is ſecured from the attack of an enemy's fleet by ſtrong forts built on two iſlands, under the batteries of which all veſſels muſt paſs.

During our ſtay at Carlſcrona, we received great civilities, and were entertained in the moſt hoſpitable manner by many perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and had no difficulty in obtaining permiſſion to inſpect the dock-yard, and the whole fleet.

Formerly veſſels in this port, when careened and repaired, were laid on their ſides in the open harbour, until a dock, according to a plan given by Polhem, was hollowed in the ſolid rock: it was begun in 1714, and finiſhed in 1724; but being too ſmall for men of war, has been lately enlarged, and is capable of receiving a ſhip of the firſt rate. The dimenſions are in length 190 Swediſh feet, in depth 38, and in breadth 46. It contains 300,000 cubic feet of water, and is uſually emptied in ten hours; ninety men are employed in pumping at the ſame time, and relieved every half hour. This being at preſent the only receptacle for repairing ſhips, new docks have been begun upon a ſtupendous plan worthy of the antient Romans.

According

According to the original ſcheme, it was intended to conſtruct thirty docks, for building and laying up the largeſt ſhips, at the extremity of the harbour.

A baſon, capable of admitting two men of war, is deſigned to communicate, by ſluices, with two ſmaller baſons, from each of which are to extend, like the radii of a circle, five rows of covered docks; each row will be ſeparated by walls of ſtone, and each dock provided with ſluice-gates, ſo as to be filled or emptied by means of pumps. Cloſe to the docks, magazines for naval ſtores will be conſtructed, and the whole incloſed with a ſtone wall. The project, begun in 1757, was much neglected until the acceſſion of Guſtavus the Third, who warmly patroniſed the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the works, £.25,000 were annually expended, which ſum has been leſſened to about £.6,000 per annum, and the number of docks reduced to twenty.

The following was the ſtate of the works in March 1779. The firſt large baſon was finiſhed; the dimenſions are 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth, and 32 in depth. The greater part has been hollowed out of the rock, which was perforated under water, by means of gun-powder, introduced through hollow tubes. The rock being thus

thus blown up and removed, the bottom and ſides were afterwards ſmoothed, cemented with puzzulana brought from Naples, and nicely finiſhed to an even ſurface. Three of the ſides are faced with hewn granite; and the fourth is defended from the violence of the waves by a pier of the ſame materials. The two entrances into the ſmaller baſons were nearly completed, and the ſluice-gates of a ſingular conſtruction, were building: they are hollow machines, and ſo contrived, that when filled with water, they afford a paſſage to the ſhip by ſinking, and riſe again when emptied. The principle by which they act is ſomewhat ſimilar to that of the camels, employed in conveying large veſſels over the bars at Amſterdam and Peterſburgh. The two ſmaller baſons, formed by excavations of the rock, and of a ſemicircular ſhape, were partly finiſhed.

With reſpect to the docks, the materials were prepared for their conſtruction, the rock in ſome places had been blown away, and in others the earth had been removed. The bottom of one was already completed; its ſhape was elliptical; the platform and lower part of the walls were compoſed of hewn granite, and cemented with puzzulana; and the ſtone ſteps, upon which the keel of a new ſhip was to be laid down, were adjuſted. This dock was expected to be cover-

ed

ed in before the end of 1779. It was computed that one new dock would be annually finiſhed, and that in twenty years this grand undertaking would be carried into execution. The water will be introduced, and pumped out, by wind-mills, or by hands, as occaſion requires.

The primary intention of this grand plan was to obtain dry docks, for the purpoſe of keeping the whole fleet entirely covered from wind and weather. It has, however, been a queſtion much agitated in Sweden, whether large veſſels are not more effectually preſerved in water, than in dry docks; a ſolution of which can only be given by perſons well experienced in naval affairs. But ſhould this be allowed, yet theſe docks will ſtill be greatly ſerviceable for the conſtruction and repairing, if not for the preſervation of ſhips.

In 1784 I again viſited Carlſcrona, and did not find the works as much advanced as I expected*. Inſtead of completing one dock every year, only one has been finiſhed in the ſpace of nine years; and as only two more were in the leaſt forwardneſs, it will probably be a century

* This great work does not ſeem to have been farther advanced in 1791; for it is thus mentioned in the Voyage de deux François, "Un ſeul de ces baſſins eſt achevé, quelques autres ſont commencés mais il eſt fort douteux qu' un ouvrage auſſi immenſe ſoit jamais terminé." Tom. II. p. 10.

before

before the plan is completed. The dock which is finiſhed, gives a ſufficient idea of the expence and greatneſs of the undertaking; the bottom and ſides are of hewn granite, rows of granite pillars ſupport the roof, and bear rather the appearance of a colonnade to a temple, than a receptacle for ſhips.

The ſhips are built at Carlſcrona, chiefly by Engliſh workmen. Though the provinces of Blekinge and Skone abound with oaks; yet there is not a ſufficiency for a continued ſupply, and the Swedes procure their ſhip-timber from Germany. They made their two laſt contracts with the king of Pruſſia; the firſt for 400,000 Swediſh cubic feet*, the laſt for 200,000. The latter were delivered in 1778, at the rate of 5*s.* 10*d.* per cubic foot. They are ſupplied from their own territories with maſts and deals, pitch and tar, and the greater part of the flax uſed in the navy; and manufacture ropes and ſails from Riga hemp. They caſt cannon, and make gunpowder with Swediſh ſaltpetre. The harbour of Carlſcrona is large and commodious, with depth of water ſufficient for ſhips of the firſt rate to carry their lower tier of guns.

On paper, the Swediſh navy, in 1779, amounted to 30 ſhips of the line, including thoſe of 40 guns, and 15 frigates, beſide gallies, prames,

* 1000 Swediſh feet = 1027 Engliſh feet.

and

and xebecs. But as ſeveral of theſe veſſels were old and out of repair, we could not eſtimate thoſe fit for ſervice at more than 20 ſhips of the line, and 10 frigates.

Though I was not able to obtain a complete liſt of the whole navy; yet the following account of all the ſhips in commiſſion, and fitting out for a cruiſe in the Baltic in 1779, the æra of the armed neutrality, will help to ſupply the deficiency.

Names.	Guns	Names.	Guns.
Sophia Magdalena, new -	74	Vaſa, new - - - - - -	60
Guſtavus III. new - -	74	Upland, ſtationed at Gothe-borg - - - - - -	40
Prince Guſtavus - - -	74	Jaramas - - - - - -	40
Gotha Lyon - - - - -	74	Swart Orn - - - - - -	40
King Adolphus Frederic	70	Illerin, bound to Morocco	36
Frederic Adolphus, new -	64	Prince Guſtavus, new -	32
Sophia Albertina - - -	64	Trolle, in Finland - -	32
Enigheten - - - - - -	64	Erenſvard, in Finland -	32
Finland - - - - - -	60		

The ſeamen belonging to government are regiſtered, and amount to 18,000: of theſe ſome receive their pay in money, and others are diſtributed in the ſame manner as the national militia, ſmall portions of land in the iſlands and on the ſea coaſt being aſſigned for their ſubſiſtence. Of theſe 18,000 ſailors, according to the moſt favourable accounts, only about 6,000 are reputed to be experienced ſeamen; the reſt are peaſants. On an emergency, the king enjoys the

the power of preſſing ſailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the regiſtered ſeamen.

At Carlſcrona I rejoined my companions, whom I had quitted at Stockholm; exchanged an open cart for a more commodious vehicle, and continued my journey to Helſingborg. Our route lay through the provinces of Blekinge and Skone. For the firſt two or three poſts the country was hilly and rocky, and covered with foreſt; but afterwards changed to a level and fertile plain. Our road lay near the ſhore, and we had many fine ſea views, with numerous rocks and ſmall iſlands ſcattered in all directions. About twelve miles from the village of Felkinge, where we took our abode for the night, we entered Skone, called by foreigners Scania, the moſt level and fertile of all the Swediſh provinces. We paſſed through Chriſtianſtadt, a ſtrong fortified town, built in 1614 by Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark, when this province belonged to the Danes, and finally ceded to the Swedes, by the peace of Roſkild, in 1658. The town is ſmall, but neatly built, and is eſteemed the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Sweden. The houſes are all of brick, and moſtly ſtuccoed white. It ſtands in a marſhy plain cloſe to the river Helge-a, which flows into the Baltic at Ahus, at the diſtance of 20 miles, and is navigable only for

ſmall craft of 7 tons burden. Engliſh veſſels annually reſort to this port for alum, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants have manufactories of cloth and ſilken ſtuffs, and carry on a ſmall degree of commerce.

A little beyond Chriſtianſtadt, as we approached the coaſts of the Sound, the country roſe into inequalities, covered at intervals with trees: the ſoil was chiefly ſand mixed with vegetable mould. We arrived, late in the evening of March the 21ſt, at Helſingborg, the place of embarkation for Denmark.

Before I conclude the account of Sweden, I ſhall throw together a few remarks on the mode of travelling, and other general heads.

Travelling in Sweden is perfectly commodious to a perſon acquainted with the uſual method of procuring horſes. At the different towns and villages on the high roads, poſt-horſes are not regularly ſtationed; but if the traveller ſends forward a peaſant to appoint relays, at a ſtipulated place and time, his orders are punctually executed. The neglect of this precaution has cauſed frequent delays to inexperienced foreigners, as it did to us on our firſt arrival in the country; for we were obliged to wait at each poſt-houſe until horſes could be obtained from the adjacent villages. The uſual practice of ſupplying poſt-horſes is regulated in a man-

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ner very convenient and cheap to travellers. All perſons poſſeſſing land of a certain tenure are bound to ſend one or more horſes, two or three times a month, to the neighbouring poſt-houſe: if they are not wanted, they return, after waiting 24 hours, without compenſation for loſs of time, and if employed, receive an inadequate recompence*. I found, indeed, travelling ſo exceedingly cheap in Sweden, that during a courſe of 500 miles, from Stockholm to Carlſcrona, my whole expences, including the prime coſt of a cart, the hire of poſt-horſes, gratuities to the drivers, and the accommodations on the road, did not amount to £.20, although my Swediſh ſervant occaſionally taxed me with want of œconomy. The peaſants themſelves, who uſually attend with their own horſes, being the drivers, are contented with a ſmall acknowledgment of about 2*d.* or 3*d.* for each poſt. The horſes are ſmall, but lively and active, two were uſually the complement for my cart, and they

* When we firſt entered Sweden, we only paid 16 ſtivers = 5*d.* for each horſe per Swediſh mile from the towns, and 12 ſtivers, or = 3¾*d.* from the villages: this price was ſo exceedingly low, that at the laſt diet the ſtates increaſed it: the new regulation took place on the 16th of March 1779; from which time 24 ſtivers = 10*d.* was paid in the towns for each horſe for a Swediſh mile, and 16 or 5*d.* in the villages. Even, according to this advanced price, the higheſt ſum is not quite 1½*d.* and the loweſt not a penny, per horſe, for an Engliſh mile.

went generally at the rate of ſix or ſeven Engliſh miles an hour: the poſtillion never rode, but ſat on a ſmall bench at the extremity of the cart.

The regulations of the poſt are excellent. At every poſt-houſe is kept a day-book or journal, in which each traveller ſets down his name and character, the day and hour of his arrival and departure, the place from whence he came, and whither he is going, and the number of horſes he requires. One column is appropriated to complaints; ſo that if the poſtmaſter or the drivers are impertinent or impoſing, their conduct is known, as the journal is every month inſpected by the officers of government.

The high roads of Sweden wind agreeably through the country, are made with ſtone or gravel, and are as good as our turnpikes, yet no toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; for the purpoſe of aſcertaining their reſpective portions, ſmall pieces of wood, or ſtone, marked with numbers and capital letters, are placed at different diſtances on each ſide of the way.

In no kingdom, ſince I quitted England, have I obſerved ſo many ſeats ſcattered over the face of the country as in Sweden; where the gentlemen of moderate fortunes are accuſtomed to reſide

reſide on their eſtates in rural plenty. Theſe ſeats, being an aſſemblage of wooden buildings, painted red, make a neat appearance: occupying a large extent of ground, they ſeem, at ſome diſtance, like ſmall villages, and contribute greatly to the ornament of the country; they are moſt frequent near the lakes, and are not uncommonly ſituated in the midſt of hanging woods, or broken rocks ſuſpended over the water.

During my progreſs through this kingdom, I could not avoid being ſtruck with a ſurpriſing reſemblance between the Engliſh and Swediſh languages, not only in ſingle words, but in whole phraſes; ſo that a quick ear may comprehend many expreſſions in common converſation. Among other inſtances of this kind, I heard the poſtilions cry out,—"come, let us go;"—"let us ſee;"—"ſtand ſtill;"—"hold your tongue;" "go on*." I naturally inquired the meaning of my interpreter, and found that they had the ſame ſignification as in our own language. They are for the moſt part pronounced more like the Scottiſh† than the Engliſh accent, and indeed, in

* Theſe words are thus written in the Swediſh tongue:—"*kom, let oſs go*"—"*let oſs ſe*"—"*ſtand ſtill*"—"*hold din tunga*"—"*go an.*"

† A Swediſh gentleman of my acquaintance made the ſame remark during a tour in Scotland; that there was a much nearer re-

in general, the Swedes appeared to me as if talking broad Scotch. Nor is this matter of wonder; for it is probable, that the Scottiſh mode of ſpeaking is the ſame as was formerly uſed in England, and that, while we have gradually ſoftened our original pronunciation, the Scots have retained theirs. With reſpect to the ſimilarity between the Swediſh and Engliſh tongues *, we may remark that they are both dialects of the Teutonic or German: and if in pronunciation they reſemble each other more than their original ſtock, it is owing to this circumſtance; that we are deſcended from the Swedes and Danes, whoſe languages are only different dialects; and the old Saxon, which gave riſe to the Engliſh, was probably firſt introduced into our iſland by ſettlers, or invaders, from theſe northern kingdoms.

ſemblance between the Scotch and Swediſh, than between the Swediſh and Engliſh, both in words and pronunciation. The ſame gentleman alſo informed me, that ſeveral obſolete Swediſh words are very common in Scotland.

* That the affinity between the Swediſh and Engliſh languages was more obvious in former times, appears from an anecdote mentioned in chap. 6. of this volume.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

Landſcrona.—Lund.—Account of profeſſor Retzius.—Calmar.—Jonkioping.—Wadſtena.—Medvi.—Nordkioping.

A Subſequent journey into the North in 1784, in company with Samuel Whitbread, Eſq. furniſhed me with additional materials for an account of thoſe parts of Sweden, which I did not viſit in my former tour; and a deſcription of Norway.

July 20th. After expreſſing to Mr. Elliott our warmeſt acknowledgments for his polite and friendly attention, we quitted Copenhagen at four in the evening, embarked in a four-oared boat, and ſailed to Landſcrona with a favourable breeze. The diſtance is ſixteen miles.

On approaching Landſcrona, we were embarraſſed with ſhoals and rocks, and as the Daniſh watermen were unacquainted with the coaſt of Sweden, we could not diſengage ourſelves, and ſhould have been compelled to

return to Copenhagen, if fortunately two Swediſh ſailors, obſerving our diſtreſs, had not waded through the ſea, and conducted our veſſel into port.

Landſcrona, about twenty miles from Lund, is ſtrongly fortifying, and will become of great conſequence, if the works ſhould ever be completed. But the Swedes ſeem, in all their undertakings, to form plans much too great and expenſive for their finances and power, and conſequently ſeldom finiſh what they begin. Such has been the fate of Carlſcrona and Sveaborg; and, perhaps, Landſcrona will furniſh another inſtance of their attempting to execute what exceeds their revenue. The object of the works carrying on at Landſcrona is to erect a fortreſs, which ſhall command the whole coaſt of Scania lying oppoſite to the Iſle of Zealand, and to form a harbour for gallies. The old fortreſs or citadel mounts ſeventy-four guns, and requires a garriſon of two or three hundred men.

The harbour lies between the continent and a ſmall iſland half a mile in circumference, is at leaſt twenty feet in depth, and will form a commodious ſtation for gallies. This harbour is to be protected by a new citadel on the ſmall iſland, which is encircling with walls and baſtions of hewn granite. The works are very laborious and expenſive; for the ground being a moraſs, the

the iſland muſt be drained by means of wind-mills, and the foundations laid on piles. The town alſo, towards the land, will be incloſed with a range of fortifications, no leſs expenſive and difficult than the former.

Being from former experience well acquainted with the mode of travelling in this country, we ſent forward our Engliſh poſt-chaiſe from Copenhagen to Stockholm, and purchaſed two ſmall peaſant's carts, each provided with an arm-chair hung on ſprings. In theſe vehicles we went uſually at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour, and not unfrequently travelled from eighty to a hundred miles a day.

Lund, the capital of Scania, is eſteemed the moſt ancient town in Sweden, according to an old proverb, that when our Saviour was born, Lund was in its glory. The ſimilarity of the genitive caſe Lunden, to the name of the Engliſh capital, has led ſome fanciful antiquaries to conjecture, that London derived its appellation from this place.

Lund contains ſcarcely more than 800 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, and is principally ſupported by the univerſity, eſtabliſhed by Charles the Eleventh, and called, from the name of its founder, *Academia Carolina Gothorum.* There are twenty-one profeſſors, and three hundred ſtudents. The library contains

contains 20,000 volumes. The botanical garden is by no means in a flouriſhing ſtate, the number of plants not exceeding 1200. At Lund was alſo inſtituted, in 1776, a Royal Phyſiographical Society, which was incorporated by the king in 1778. The ſubjects treated of in its acts, relate only to natural hiſtory, chymiſtry, and agriculture.

Lund is an archbiſhopric. The cathedral is an ancient irregular building, raiſed at different intervals. The clerk did not omit to carry us into a ſubterraneous chapel, with a vaulted roof ſupported by pillars; on two of which are carved groteſque figures of a man and woman in ſtone, ſtretching out their arms, as if attempting to pull down the building. Theſe figures have given riſe to a legend: A giant built the chapel, at the requeſt of the firſt biſhop, on condition that he ſhould promiſe to give him either the ſun and moon, or his two eyes, or to find out his name. The building being nearly finiſhed, the biſhop, who had not yet diſcovered the giant's name, walked in the environs of the town in great anxiety to a neighbouring eminence, and heard the giant's wife call her huſband Fin. Elated with this diſcovery, he returned to the town, and ſaluted the giant by his name, who was ſo enraged, that he endeavoured, with the aſſiſtance of his wife, to pull down the chapel; but

but in their firſt attempt they were turned into ſtones.

The following account of profeſſor Retzius was communicated by my learned friend Dr. Pulteney.

" In the univerſity of Lund, Linnæus acquired, at a very early age, the firſt ſyſtematic ideas of Natural Hiſtory, under profeſſor Stobæus, and he lived to ſee his favourite ſtudies flouriſh in that ſeminary, under the influence of one of his own pupils. He lamented in his writings, that in a ſituation much more favourable than that of Upſala, being four degrees more ſoutherly, the garden of Lund had not riſen to ſome eminence. His regret on this occaſion was ſoon removed by the zeal and exertions of Dr. Andrew John Retzius, profeſſor of natural hiſtory. This gentleman probably received his taſte for natural ſcience from his father, who, with two adjuncts, in 1729, inveſtigated Scania, in ſearch of plants, at the expence of Stobæus.

" Retzius firſt made himſelf known to the literary world, by a paper publiſhed in the 25th volume of the Swediſh Acts for 1764, on the Preparation of *Salep* from the Roots of the *Orchis Morio*, (Meadow Orchis); to which he gave a clearneſs, and mucilaginous property, equal to what is ſeen in the *Salep* of the Eaſt. Soon after he gave lectures on natural hiſtory and

and pharmacy, in the univerſity of Lund; on which occaſion he publiſhed in 8vo. 1769, 'An Abſtract, or enlarged Syllabus, of the Elements of Pharmacy:' an art, for the teaching of which, profeſſorſhips are eſtabliſhed in the univerſities of Sweden. In the ſame year he publiſhed in the Swediſh Acts, vol. 30, a Tract on the rare Plants of Scania. About the ſame time he alſo read lectures in chemiſtry; and was appointed Demonſtrator in the botanical garden.

"In 1772, he wrote, in the Swediſh tongue, an 'Introduction to the Knowledge of the Animal Kingdom,' a work intended to familiarize the zoological ſyſtem of Linnæus to his countrymen. In the 31ſt volume of the Swediſh Acts, anno 1770, 'Obſervations on a Paper written by M. Mounet, concerning the Method of preparing Corroſive Sublimate, *in the moiſt way*;' and in the ſame volume, 'Experiments on the Tartar of Wine, and its Acid.'

"In 1774, was publiſhed, in the form of an academical diſſertation, the firſt ſpecimen of his *Obſervationes Botanicæ*, which was afterwards enlarged, re-publiſhed, and occaſionally continued.

"Soon after this time, academical honours were accumulated on our author. He became one of the royal profeſſors in the univerſity of Lund,

Lund, and ſecretary to the Phyſiographical Society. He had been choſen fellow of the Medical Society of Copenhagen, of the *Naturæ Curioſorum* of Berlin, and correſponding member of the Oeconomical Society of Leipſic.

"In 1779, he printed *Floræ Scandinaviæ Prodromus*, which he calls the outline of a larger work, intended to deſcribe the plants of Sweden Lapland, Finland, Pomerania, Denmark, Norway, Holſatia, Iceland, and Greenland, after the example of Linnæus in the *Mantiſſa*, and of Pollich in his 'Plants of the Palatinate.' In this *Prodromus* few ſynonyms are introduced, but many obſervations which evince the ſcientific genius of the author, and his cloſe adherence to the principles of his great maſter. After the publication of this work, he was complimented by Dr. Thunberg, the ſucceſſor of Linnæus, with the application of his name to a new genus of plants, nearly allied to the *Convolvulus*; it is deſcribed, and figured in the ſecond volume of the *Acta Nunclenſia*.

"In 1783, the author's *Prolegomena in Pharmacalogiam Regni Vegetabilis* were printed at Leipſic; and in 1786, tranſlated into the German tongue, and publiſhed with notes, by J. F. Weſtſtrumb. In 1779, Retzius publiſhed an enlarged edition of his *Faſciculus Obſervationem Botanicarum*. This work has been continued

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to the fifth *Faſciculus*, which was printed in 1789, the whole containing 200 pages, and 16 plates of new plants. A ſixth *Faſciculus* was publiſhed by the Profeſſor in 1789, which concludes the work. This laſt part is rendered particularly valuable to the lovers of oriental botany, by the deſcriptions of 23 ſpecies of that extraordinary paraſitical genus of plants, firſt called by Linnæus *Epidendrum*, of which the *Vanilla* of the Weſt Indies, uſed to perfume chocolate, is a ſpecies. Theſe deſcriptions were all made by the accurate *Köenig* from the living plants, and are drawn up in a highly finiſhed manner, agreeably to the rules of the Linnæan Syſtem. The ſix Faſciculi were publiſhed in one volume in 1791, embelliſhed with the head of the author, in the 48th year of his age. The author tells us, he had heard Linnæus repeatedly expreſs his wiſhes, that all the plants in his own *Herbarium* had been deſcribed in that conciſe way, of which he had ſhewn the model in his *Mantiſſa*; which the reader may ſee completely exemplified in our own kingdom, by Mr. Curtis, in his moſt excellent work the *Flora Londinenſis*, and not leſs ſo by Dr. Smith, in his *Icones Plantarum hactenus ineditæ*.

" The deſign of Retzius, in theſe obſervations, was to correct ſuch miſtakes as he met with in the *Species Plantarum* of Linnæus, and

in other modern authors; and to deſcribe new plants in the method above-mentioned. Linnæus, to whom our author had pointed out ſome errors in the 13th edition of the *Syſtema Vegetabilium*, had expreſſed his approbation of his ſcheme, and with great candour exhorted him to continue his reſearches. By ſome ſtrange fatality, the errors of this edition remained uncorrected in the Supplement, and in the 14th edition of the *Syſtema*, in 1784, Retzius's work is enriched with the deſcriptions of many new plants, communicated by ſeveral hands, but principally by Dr. Koënig, phyſician to the Daniſh miſſion of Tranquebar; particularly in the third *Faſciculus*, with a deſcription of thirteen ſpecies of the *Scitamineæ*, or ſpice plants of the *monandrous* claſs.

To the great loſs of ſcience this moſt accurate and indefatigable naturaliſt, whoſe diligence and ſkill has rarely been equalled, died at Tranquebar in July 1785. In theſe *Faſciculi*, Retzius has fixed his character as a perfect maſter of the Linnæan ſyſtem; and until a more perfect edition of the *Species Plantarum* ſees the light, his Obſervations may be conſidered as a neceſſary Supplement to the works of the great Swediſh botaniſt.

"In 1784, the profeſſor printed, at Stockholm,

holm, his 'Lectures on the ſeveral Kinds of Worms which infeſt the human Inteſtines.' It is not within my ſcope to dwell on this ſubject. It muſt be ſufficient to obſerve, that the author has taken much pains to concenter, in this ſmall tract, all that ſeemed valuable in preceding authors; and after deſcribing eleven ſpecies of theſe noxious animals, with the utmoſt accuracy, he has ſubjoined much valuable information from his own obſervations and reaſonings *."

Our

* Excluſive of his ſeparate publications, above enumerated, in the Swediſh Acts, we find the following diſſertations by Retzius in the ſame collection.

In vol. 34, for the year 1773, a deſcription of the *Verbena Stubletia*, which flowered in the garden of *Lund*, from ſeeds received from Paris.

In vol. 36, for 1775, the deſcription of two ſpecies of the *Dianthericæ*, from the Eaſt Indies; a genus ſo little differing from the *Juſticia* as to be received into that genus by *M. Wildenow* the preſent editor of a new edition of the *Species Plantarum*.

In the ſecond volume of *Schriften der Berliniſchen Geſellſchaft naturforſchender Freunde*, or Scripta Societatis Berolinenſis Naturant, Scrutantium Amicorum, publiſhed in 1781 *Berlin*, *Retzius* communicated a diſcovery of a new bivalve ſhell, allied to the *anomia*, but differing ſtill in ſo many characters as to juſtify him in conſtituting a new genus of it, by the name of *Crania*, from its reſemblance to the *Anomia craniolaris* of Linnæus.

In vol. 37, of the Swediſh Acts for 1776, he extended his obſervations on the natural vegetable acids, or ſuch as are not the produce of fermentation. In the 4th volume of the "New Swediſh Acts," for the year 1783, the Profeſſor publiſhed ſome obſervations

Our route lay through Chriſtianſtadt and Lund. The variety of the country, the wildneſs of ſome of the views, the beauty of others, the fertility of the ſmall vallies, and the romantic appearance of the overhanging rocks, formed a pleaſing and agreeable contraſt. Although the baſis of the ſoil is entirely granite, and vaſt fragments of rock overſpread the whole country, yet the ſurface is principally green. In ſome parts juniper-buſhes overrun the ſoil, in others large foreſts of oak and pine ſtart from the crevices of the rock, where ſcarcely appears nutriment for the ſmalleſt vegetable. The vallies, numerous but ſmall, abound with corn and paſture. It was hay harveſt, every atom of ſoil was employed; I obſerved ſeveral peaſants making hay on a ſlip of land, which could almoſt be covered with a ſheet, and here and there a ſtone five or ſix feet high overſhadowing a *field* of corn.

In our way from Carlſcrona to Calmar, we paſſed through large foreſts of pines and firs, planted by the hand of nature, and ſcarcely intermixed with any other trees, except in the en-

vations on the *Aſteria* genus, in conſequence of his having made a tour to the Weſtern coaſt of *Scania*. They tend to correct ſome errors which he ſuſpected Linnæus had fallen into, almoſt neceſſarily ariſing from his having drawn up his deſcriptions only from ſpecimens preſerved in ſpirits.

virons of the villages. Theſe pines appeared extremely lofty in compariſon with the narrowneſs of the road which winded at their feet, and was over-ſhadowed by the branches converging to, and almoſt touching, each other.

July 25.—As we approached Calmar, we emerged from the gloom of the foreſt, and burſt upon a fine view of the ſea, with a diſtant proſpect of the Iſle of Oeland. The weather was delightful, the ſea calm; and numerous veſſels, covering the ſurface of the waters to the fartheſt extent of the horizon, rendered the ſcenery as animated as it was beautiful.

Calmar, ſeparated from the Iſle of Oeland by a ſtrait about ſeven miles broad in the narroweſt part, is a ſmall town, ſcarcely a mile in circumference, and containing only 450 houſes, but ſtrongly fortified. The ramparts are at preſent unprovided with cannon, which have been lately removed to Landſcrona and Chriſtianſtadt, from the rumour of a Daniſh war. The ſtreets croſs each other at right-angles. The inhabitants carry on a ſmall trade, and poſſeſs, beſides ſmall craft, about ſeventy veſſels, from 100 to 300 tons burthen.

Calmar is celebrated in the hiſtory of the north, as the place where the deputies of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were appointed to aſſemble for the election of a king,

according to the union of Calmar; an union as favourable to Denmark, as detrimental to the intereſts of Sweden: it was upheld by the vigour and abilities of Margaret; but, under her weak and unwarlike ſucceſſors, entailed on Sweden a ſeries of convulſions and troubles, until it was finally diſſolved by the valour and prudence of Guſtavus Vaſa.

Near the town is the caſtle, ſtanding on an eminence, the only remains of its ancient magnificence. The building has been conſtructed at different intervals, and contains a motley mixture of Gothic and Grecian architecture. I obſerved over one of the doors an inſcription, John III. 1568. Parts of the manſion, however, are much older, as the apartment in which the deputies of the three kingdoms uſed to aſſemble ſtill ſubſiſts; it is 94 feet long, and 30 broad. This palace, once the reſidence of the celebrated Margaret, and remarkable in the hiſtory of this country, is converted into a diſtillery.

Inſtead of proceeding by the direct road from Calmar to Stockholm, we made a circuit through the provinces of Smoland and Eaſt Gothland, and paſſed through Jonkioping, Wadſtena, Medwi, Linkioping, and Nordkioping.

Smoland is covered with immenſe foreſts of pine and fir; the approach to the villages is announced by groves of oak, beech, and birch;

and numerous plots or parterres of arable land appear among paſtures and rocks. I frequently obſerved an acre of ground laid out with alternate ſlips of rye, barley, flax, hemp, the intervals between and around ſown with graſs. I paſſed many ſpots in which the trees were cut down and burning, in order to manure the ſoil, and render it fit for paſture or corn.

An intelligent traveller*, ſpeaking of the agriculture of this province, ſays, "I found a tolerable ſoil in Smoland, without ſand or heath; but the large detached ſtones and maſſes of granite with which it is overſpread, render the greater part unfit for the plough. In the crevices of theſe ſtones, and between the pines and fir, underwood grows rapidly.

"The peaſants ſelect a ſpot in the midſt of the foreſt, cut down the trees, ſtrew them over the ground, and burn them when dry. They then dig the earth between the ſtones with a ſpade, ſow and harrow it with rakes, and obtain a good crop of corn for two ſucceſſive years. The ground is then converted into paſture, and chiefly employed for feeding cattle, which, both in this province and Halland, thrive well, and form an advantageous article of export. Theſe ſpots of land thus converted, are called *Swedja*

* Profeſſor Bueſch, of Hamburgh.

Land,

Land, or burnt land, and in the ſpace of fifteen years are again covered with wood. This mode of culture has been cenſured by many travellers, as unprofitable and detrimental, but without ſufficient reaſon; for many of theſe ſpots cannot be uſed to any other purpoſe, being too ſtony, and the trees of little value."

Veils are commonly worn in Sweden, not only by the ladies, but even by the female peaſants at work in the fields; a cuſtom which ſtrikes an Engliſh traveller for its ſingularity, but which is uſeful to ſhade the eyes from the glare of the ſnow in winter, and from the rays of the ſun, ſo ſtrongly reflected from the rocks in ſummer.

As we approached Jonkioping, on the third day's journey from Calmar, the country became ſomewhat leſs woody, and the views more extenſive, though not leſs rude and rocky. A mile from Jonkioping we came to the top of an eminence, whoſe ſummit was covered with fir, and its feet with beech and oak. We looked down on that town, lying beautifully between two ſmall lakes, at the ſouthern extremity of the Wetter, a lake of an oblong ſhape, and of ſuch length, that it appeared like an arm of the ſea; it is at leaſt 100 miles long, and from ſix to

twenty-ſix miles broad; the ſhores are gently ſloping, and moſtly clothed with firs.

Jonkioping is the capital of Smoland, and the ſeat of the parliament or ſuperior court of juſtice for the kingdom of Gothland. The town is two miles in circumference, and contains 3000 inhabitants; the houſes are moſtly of wood, covered with turf. Excepting the houſes in the largeſt towns, and gentlemen's ſeats, few of the buildings in Sweden are roofed with tiles; they are principally covered with turf or moſs, no thatching being uſed, as too dear, and dangerous in caſe of fire. In order to keep out the rain, large layers of birch-bark are ſpread over the timber-work of the roof, under the covering of turf or moſs. Theſe turf roofs make a ſingular appearance, many of them producing herbage, which is occaſionlly cut for the uſe of the cattle; a few were ornamented with flowers.

Quitting Jonkioping, we coaſted the weſtern ſhores of the Wetter, through a hilly, ſtony, but well cultivated and woody country, the road ſometimes running cloſe to the margin of the water, ſometimes carried over the ſteep precipices which form the ſhores of the lake. The vaſt expanſe of water, which near Jonkioping is too uniform, was partly broken by an iſland

about

about ſeven miles in circumference, and the view diverſified with a ſmaller lake.

The ſmall town of Wadſtena, on the borders of the Wetter, is remarkable for its caſtle, a ſingular building, defended at the four corners by round towers, covered with ſmall domes; it was built in 1544 by Guſtavus Vaſa, and inhabited by his ſon Magnus, who was inſane. The church, a large handſome building, contains his ſepulchre, and the remains of Catharine, wife of Charles Canutſon, and of Philippa queen of Eric the Thirteenth.

The lake Wetter, like all inland pieces of water, ſurrounded with hills or mountains, is ſubject to ſudden ſtorms in the ſtilleſt weather. Superſtition or credulity not unfrequently find cauſes for all phænomena of nature; and I was informed at Copenhagen, that theſe ſudden ſtorms were occaſioned by a ſubterraneous communication with the lake of Conſtance, in Switzerland. It appeared from a regular ſeries of correſpondence and obſervation, that when the waters of one lake aroſe, thoſe of the other fell in the ſame proportion; and frequently the waters of the Wetter were violently agitated without the leaſt wind, or any apparent cauſe, until information arrived, that at the ſame time the lake of Conſtance had been diſturbed by a tempeſt. The perſon who gave me this information

added, in ſupport of his aſſertion, that ſimilar plants were obſerved to grow ſpontaneouſly in the neighbourhood of each lake; and the ſame fiſh were alſo caught in both.

On my arrival at Wadſtena I found a gentleman, to whom I had a letter, ſtrongly impreſſed with the truth of this account, and particularly affirming, that a ſeries of correſpondence and obſervation had eſtabliſhed the fact. But when I requeſted a ſpecific proof, I found his aſſertion was principally grounded on tradition, and that no correſpondence on the ſubject had been carried on by any perſon now alive, but by the great-grandfather of ſome inhabitant of Wadſtena. I ſhould not have thought this idle ſtory worthy of mention, if the fact had not been poſitively affirmed by perſons of ſome note at Copenhagen, if it was not generally believed at Wadſtena, and if ſome travellers had not been ſufficiently deceived to relate it in their travels.

At Motala, we croſſed the river of the ſame name, which iſſues from the Wetter, and is not navigable for the ſmalleſt veſſels, and ſoon arrived at Medwi, the Swediſh ſpa, pleaſantly ſituated in a gently waving and richly wooded country. The lodging-houſes form one ſtreet of uniform wooden buildings painted red; the walks and rides are delightful, particularly

to

to the banks of the Wetter; the waters of the Spa are vitriolic and ſulphureous. The regulations of this place ſeem more calculated for the accommodations of the ſick who drink the waters, than for thoſe who aſſemble for pleaſure. Between five and ſix in the morning the company are awakened by the ringing of a large bell, when they uſually riſe, drink the waters, breakfaſt, ride out, or walk. Preciſely at twelve dinner is ſerved in a large hall, to which all repair; after dinner they play at cards till five, when they take their afternoon's airing. At ſeven ſupper is ſerved in the ſame hall; at nine the bell rings, the gates are ſhut, no carriages are admitted, and the company moſtly retire to bed.

We had purpoſed continuing a week at Medwi, but the ſeaſon being paſt, and the company gone, excepting a few invalids, we continued our journey to Stockholm, through Linkioping and Nordkioping. Having repaſſed the Motala, we mounted an eminence, and deſcended into the largeſt and moſt cultivated plain I had yet ſeen in Sweden, fertile in corn and paſture, bounded by a ridge of hills, whoſe ſides and ſummits are prettily wooded, and whoſe feet are watered by the Motala, forming a ſucceſſion of lakes. The plain is open, and the fields large; frequent churches, villages, and country ſeats,

occurred,

occurred, and the ſcene was enlivened by the hay-harveſt.

In the midſt of this plain ſtands the ſmall but neat town of Linkioping; containing the epiſcopal palace, the cathedral, and the palace in which reſides the governor of Eaſt Gothland. The axletree of one of our carriages breaking, we were detained two hours; and the night coming on, were prevented from enjoying the beauties of the country, which appeared from the dim light of the ſtars more rocky and hilly as we approached Nordkioping, where we did not arrive before one in the morning.

Nordkioping is one of the largeſt and moſt commercial inland towns in Sweden. It covers a large ſpace of ground, being ten miles in circumference; but the houſes are ſmall and ſcattered, and the inhabitants do not exceed 10,000. The ſituation is exceedingly picturesque; the Motala flows through the town, forms a ſeries of cataracts, and is divided into four principal ſtreams, which encircle ſeveral rocky iſlands, covered with houſes and manufactories; here it is navigable for ſmall veſſels. Several manufactories are eſtabliſhed in the town: fifty-five fabrics of cloth, which employ 1500 men; three ſugar-houſes; one of ſnuff; fifty mills for grinding corn, which is exported in large quantities,

and

and a braſs-foundery. The fabric of arms, mentioned by Mr. Wraxall, no longer exiſts, the proprietor being a bankrupt. A ſalmon-fiſhery gives employment and riches to many of the inhabitants.

A few miles from Nordkioping we aſcended a high chain of granite mountains, which run from eaſt to weſt; the ſtupendous maſſes of rocks impending over the road, highly pictureſque, reſemble the firſt Alpine paſſes in Switzerland. From the ſummit we looked down on the rich plains we had paſſed the preceding day, and the Motala winding and flowing into the Bay of Brunick. On deſcending this chain, we traverſed a ſucceſſion of plains and rocks which ſtretch from north to ſouth; the plains are exceedingly fertile in grain and paſture, and watered by rivers and lakes. The villages ſcattered at ſmall diſtances from each other, groupes of cottages placed on rocky eminences, and many churches ſtanding ſingly, in the moſt pictureſque ſituations, diverſified the ſcenery.

At Filtja, the laſt poſt, we admired a beautiful bay of the lake Maeler, bounded by perpendicular, rocky, and woody banks. As we approached the capital, the country appeared more deſolate. It was almoſt entirely covered with rocks or foreſts, exhibiting ſcarcely any traces

traces of human induſtry, excepting a few iſolated patches of corn and paſture, and about a dozen habitations. This dreary ſcene continued till we aſcended an eminence, and came upon a ſudden view of the ſpires of Stockholm, half hid by the intervening rocks and trees.

CHAP. 2.

Palace of Gripſholm.—Strægnetz.—Tombs of Steno Sture, and Charles the Ninth.—Bohus.—Marſtrand.—Uddevalla.

THE palace of Gripſholm was a monaſtery given to the Carthuſians, by Steno Sture; but as the friars refuſed an aſylum to Guſtavus Vaſa in his diſtreſs, he claimed it as the patrimony of his family, and made it his favourite reſidence. The preſent king, enamoured of a palace which was honoured with the preſence of his great anceſtor, has lately improved and furniſhed it, and uſually paſſes here ſome months in the year. He has alſo built an elegant theatre, in which plays are occaſionally repreſented during his reſidence.

The palace is a Gothic building, and ſtands on a ſmall iſland of the Maeler, overlooking or rather impending over the water. The ancient battlements, and four irregular round towers, covered with copper, convey an idea of ancient caſtles mentioned in romances; and the recollection, that it was the favourite palace of Guſtavus

tavus Vaſa, impreſſed us with additional reverence. It contains a curious collection of portraits; amongſt others, I noticed Chriſtopher the Third, Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, and Eric of Pomerania; Steno Sture, junior, adminiſtrator of Sweden; ſeveral portraits of Guſtavus Vaſa, particularly one painted by his ſon, the unfortunate and accompliſhed Eric the Fourteenth; of the treacherous Arnold Peterſon, who received and endeavoured to betray Guſtavus Vaſa, and his wife, who preſerved him; Catharine, the beloved conſort of Eric the Fourteenth, pale and delicate; his ſon, Guſtavus, who died in Ruſſia, is repreſented in chains, and his countenance exhibits a fine expreſſion of melancholy; John the Third; Charles the Ninth, and Oxenſtiern, the celebrated chancellor.

A large hall contains thirty-four whole-length portraits of the European ſovereigns contemporary with Guſtavus Vaſa. Among the moſt conſpicuous I remarked the emperor Maximilian the Firſt; Sigiſmond the Firſt, king of Poland; the emperor Charles the Fifth, and his brother Ferdinand; Louis, king of Hungary; Elizabeth of England, in the bloom of her youth, and much prettier than ſhe is uſually repreſented, and Eric the Fourteenth, painted by himſelf. The new ſaloon is hung with portraits of the

the preſent ſovereigns of Europe. A ſmall apartment is ſhewn, in which John the Third was confined ten years by his brother Eric, and in which Eric alſo was afterwards impriſoned by order of John.

Strægnetz, fourteen miles from Gripſholm, is a ſmall town on the banks of the Macler; that lake never appears a large expanſe of water, but is divided into numerous bays or inlets, which ſeem like detached lakes. It is interſperſed with rocky iſlands, and the perpendicular banks are covered to the water's edge with hanging groves; but the eye is tired with the tedious uniformity of the firs and pines, which form almoſt the only trees that fringe the banks, or overſpread the iſlands.

The cathedral, a large red brick building, with a ſquare tower roofed with copper, contains the ſepulchres of the adminiſtrator Steno Sture the Elder, and of Charles the Ninth.

The ſepulchre of Steno Sture is a ſarcophagus of marble, ornamented with a ſword, helmet, and buckler. His body was formerly buried in the monaſtery of Gripſholm, removed, at the introduction of the proteſtant religion, to the pariſh church of Kermbo, and in 1577 conveyed in ſtate to this cathedral by order of Charles the Ninth, then duke of Sudermanland. Time had mouldered the tomb, and his remains were not diſtinguiſhed

diſtinguiſhed by any memorial, until the ſepulchre which now covers his aſhes was erected by the preſent king. Guſtavus conſidered it as a national reproach, that no tomb or inſcription ſhould be erected in honour of a man, who, in the capacity of adminiſtrator, directed the helm of ſtate during thirty turbulent years, who ſupported the rights of his countrymen againſt the repeated invaſions of the Danes, who gave to his country equal laws, and, no leſs eminent for his protection of letters, founded the univerſity of Upſala.

The tomb of Charles the Ninth ſtands near the altar; on it is the equeſtrian figure of the king in complete armour, the ſame which he is ſaid to have worn in his life-time. Although the great merits of Charles the Ninth are eclipſed by the tranſcendent qualities of his father and ſon; yet, even as the ſon of Guſtavus Vaſa, and father of Guſtavus Adolphus, he ſeems to ſhine no leſs with native than with reflected luſtre. Compelled from neceſſity to take up arms in conjunction with John, and to aſſiſt in depoſing Eric the Fourteenth, he behaved to his unfortunate brother with humanity and deference, oppoſed and condemned his aſſaſſination, and openly remonſtrated againſt the indignity offered to his remains.

The

The life of Charles the Ninth was almoſt a continued ſtruggle againſt civil commotions and foreign invaſions; yet his whole adminiſtration was beloved at home and reſpected abroad. He was long the real, while Sigiſmond, who chiefly reſided in Poland, was the nominal, ſovereign; until the unanimous voice of the nation depoſed the weak and bigoted Sigiſmond, and raiſed Charles to the throne of Sweden; a meaſure ſo well conducted as not to appear affected by his own private intrigues, but the reſult of national affection and national neceſſity.

Charles, in his conduct as king, fully gratified the ſanguine expectations of the people. He was enterpriſing, yet cautious in war, ſagacious and deciſive in the cabinet, a friend to humanity, yet ſevere in the puniſhment of crimes. Attached by principle to the proteſtant religion, he ſupported with firmneſs its declining cauſe, againſt the perſecutions of John and Sigiſmond, and raiſed it, almoſt drooping, again to pre-eminence. Zealous to promote the intereſts of his people, he built towns, encouraged commerce and agriculture, and patronized letters. Of quick and lively feelings, he was ſubject to violent but ſhort ebullitions of paſſion, which harraſſed his frame, and finally occaſioned his death. He died in 1611, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, leaving the commerce, finances, and

army, in a flouriſhing ſtate, and, an invaluable legacy to his country, in his ſon Guſtavus Adolphus.

From Strægnetz we paſſed through Arboga, Orebro, Lidkioping, Trolhætta, and Gotheborg*. From whence we made an excurſion to Bohus, Marſtrand, and Uddevalla, in our way to Norway.

The fort of Bohus ſtands on a rocky eminence in the Iſle of Bohus, encircled by two branches of the Gotha; it was formerly celebrated in the hiſtory of Norway, as a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and forming the frontier fortreſs, during the conſtant wars between the Danes and Swedes. It was a wooden fortreſs before the invention of gunpowder; but in 1448 was built with ſtone by Chriſtian the Firſt. The ſituation is ſtrong, and it contains a garriſon of a hundred men. From the ſummit we commanded a pleaſing view of the Gotha winding at the feet of barren rocks.

From Bohus we proceeded through a rocky country to Kiulthal, a ſingle houſe, inhabited by an officer of the cuſtoms, where we embarked, and rowing through ſmall bays and creeks, amid barren rocks and crags, arrived in two hours at Marſtrand, one of the moſt extreme among that

* See Book VII. c. ix. and x.

cluſter

cluſter of iſlands which extends from the coaſt of Sweden.

Marſtrand, for its ſtrength, called the Gibraltar of Sweden, is a rocky iſland in the Cattegate, about two miles in circumference; the town, which lies on the eaſtern ſide, contains 160 houſes, and 1,200 inhabitants. It was declared a free port in 1776, and was the great reſort for the American veſſels, who were not permitted to enter into any other port of Sweden. This traffic enriched the town, particularly in 1780 and 1781. Since the peace the commerce has greatly diminiſhed, and the inhabitants now chiefly ſubſiſt by the herring fiſhery, by the number of ſhips which in bad weather take refuge in the harbour, and by a contraband trade.

Before 1781 the inhabitants obtained conſiderable profits by ſmuggling brandy into Sweden, the entrance of which was prohibited in the other ports; but as the ſame privilege of importing foreign ſpirits for the purpoſe of exportation has been lately granted to Gotheborg, Marſtrand has loſt great part of its contraband trade.

Marſtrand is called a *free port*, but the exemption is merely imaginary; for although all goods are admitted into the town free of duty, yet they cannot be exported without paying the

usual customs. Above sixty custom-house officers are established, and carefully examine all vessels at the time of their departure: we underwent a very strict search.

The harbour is secure and commodious, but of difficult entrance, and in tempestuous weather dangerous, without a pilot; it is capable of containing 200 vessels, and is of sufficient depth for the largest. Each of the two entrances is commanded by two new batteries. That on the north side, which is quite finished, mounts ten 24 and 36 pounders; and could contain in time of war a garrison of 150 men; the south battery, which was not yet mounted, will be capable of holding 300 soldiers. The place is still further fortified by the strong citadel of Carlstein, which stands on an eminence in the middle of the island. It was built in 1682, by Charles the Eleventh, and was taken by the Danes in 1719; but the fortifications have lately been considerably strengthened, and it is now deemed impregnable. On the top of the highest tower is a light-house, from which I commanded an extensive view of the Cattegate, sprinkled with an astonishing number of rocks and islands.

"Thick as th' autumnal leaves that strew the vale
Of Valombrosa."

Milton.

The

The numerous rocks and ſhoals render this ſea extremely dangerous, and above 300 veſſels annually take refuge in the harbour of Marſtrand. It was a pleaſing reflection to ſee theſe rocks covered with the huts of fiſhermen, and to conſider, that the induſtry of man had rendered ſuch barren ſpots the nurſeries of many families by the profits of the herring fiſhery.

Having gratified our curioſity at Marſtrand, we returned to Kiulthal, and continued our journey through a country ſo exceedingly rocky and barren, that if I had not obſerved occaſional ſlips of corn and paſture in the ſmall vallies, I ſhould have concluded, that the ſea had only left it yeſterday. As I advanced towards Uddevalla the lands became gradually more and more fertile, yielding rye, barley, and oats, ſprinkled with foreſts of fir, and watered by ſeveral lakes. As we paſſed theſe pieces of water in the duſk of the evening, we obſerved ſeveral boats hanging out lights to allure the fiſh into nets.

Uddevalla is prettily ſituated on a bay of the ſea, and at the bottom of ſome ſteep rocks at the extremity of a ſmall but fruitful valley. The houſes are built of wood painted red and yellow; the ſtreets are ſpacious and airy. It contains 3,000 inhabitants, and carries on a tolerable commerce, exporting iron, planks, and

herrings. As we proceeded in our journey northward from Uddevalla, the hills increaſed in height; the vallies became more confined, and leſs fruitful, the rocks more rugged, and the few pines that relieved the eye leſs tall and luxuriant.

Appendix, No. 1.

Articles of the New Form of Government eſtabliſhed in Sweden at the Revolution of MDCCLXXII.

The following form of government is an exact tranſcript of that which was tranſlated into Engliſh, by order of his Swediſh Majeſty, from the original, and printed for the uſe of the Engliſh Merchants reſident at Stockholm. Although it contains ſeveral expreſſions and phraſes not perfectly conſonant to the idiom of the Engliſh language, yet, as it is a ſtate paper of great conſequence, I thought it more adviſable to print it in its preſent form, than to new model the ſtyle; particularly as there are very few expreſſions, the meaning of which can be doubted. The reader will therefore excuſe any trifling errors in the ſtyle, or orthography; and not impute them to any negligence in the author.

WE, GUSTAVUS, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, &c. &c. &c. heir of Norway, duke of Schleſwig, Holſtein, &c. &c. make it known, that whereas, from the beginning of our reign, we uninterruptedly have endeavoured to employ our royal power and authority to promote the advancement, ſtrength, and welfare of this realm, as well as the improvement, ſafety, and happineſs of our loyal ſubjects; and that, in order to obtain this end, We have found, that the preſent ſituation of the country

requires an unavoidable amendment of the Fundamental Laws, adapted to the above-mentioned ſalutary purpoſe; and therefore, after the moſt exact and mature deliberation and reflection, We have drawn up a form of government, which the States of the realm now aſſembled unanimouſly have received and ſworn to; which form of government, ſo agreed to by the ſtates, We graciouſly have been pleaſed, by theſe preſents, to approve and confirm, according to its literal ſenſe, in the form and manner following.

We, the under-written Senators and States of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, biſhops, knights and nobility, clergy, chiefs of the militia, deputies of the towns and peaſantry, here aſſembled in behalf of ourſelves and our fellow-ſubjects at home, make it known, that whereas we, by a ſad experience, have found, that, under the name of the bleſſed Liberty, ſeveral of our fellow ſubjects have formed an Ariſtocracy, ſo much more intolerable, as it hath been framed under licentiouſneſs, fortified by ſelf-intereſt and ſeverities, and finally ſupported by foreign powers, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and which hath brought us in the utmoſt inſecurity by the wrong interpretation of the law, and at laſt might have led the kingdom, our dear native country, to the dreadful fate, which the hiſtory of former times, and the example of our neighbours, hath laid before us, had not the ſpirit of zealous citizens, and their love to the country, ſupported by the zeal and atchievements of the High and Puiſſant Prince and Lord Guſtavus III. king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, our moſt Gracious Sovereign, ſaved and drawn us out of it; ſo that we have turned our thoughts upon fortifying our liberty, in a manner, that it may not be abuſed by a bold enterprizing ruler, nor by ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, and treacherous citizens, or ſpiteful and haughty enemies; but that the old kingdom of Sweden

Sweden and Gothia for ever may be a free and independent realm: therefore we have granted and confirmed, as we, by theſe preſents, declare and aſſert this form of government to be an unchangeable and ſacred Fundamental Law, which we, for us and our poſterity, born and unborn, promiſe to obey and keep, after its literal ſenſe; and deem thoſe to be enemies to us and the kingdom, that would perſuade us to deviate therefrom, as it, word for word, here follows:

1. Unanimity in religion, and the true divine worſhip, is the ſureſt baſis of a lawful, concordant, and ſtable government; and therefore the king, and all the officers and ſubjects of the realm, ſhall, hereafter as hitherto, firſt and foremoſt be addicted to the pure and evident word of God, as it is revealed in the Prophetical and Apoſtolic Writings, explained in the Chriſtian Symbols, the Catechiſm of Luther, and the unvaried Confeſſion of Augſburg, and confirmed by the Council of Upſala, and the former Decrees and Declarations of the States, in order that the right of the church may be ſtrengthened, but without any prejudice to the rights of the king, of the crown, or of the whole Swediſh people.

2. The king is entitled to rule his realm as the law of Sweden ſays, he and no other, to fortify, love and keep juſtice and truth; but forbid, aboliſh, and deſtroy unrighteouſneſs and injury; not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or welfare, unleſs he be lawfully convicted and judged, nor to diſtrain, or ſuffer to be diſtrained, from any man his goods, moveable and unmoveable, without lawful trial and judgment, and to rule the kingdom according to the chapter of the law concerning the king's prerogative, the Swediſh law, and this form of government.

3. The order of ſucceſſion to the crown ſubſiſts entirely as it is eſtabliſhed in the Act of Inheritance, ſettled

tled at Stockholm Anno Domini 1543, in conformity to the like Act of Weſteras, Anno Domini 1544, and the Decree of Norrkoping, Anno Domini 1604.

4. Next to the king's majeſty, the greateſt reſpect hath been of old, and ſhall be hereafter, paid to the ſenators of the realm; and them the creates and elects of native Swediſh knighthood and nobility, bound to his majeſty by fidelity, loyalty, and allegiance; and though they cannot be determined to a fixt number, becauſe ſo many may be conſtituted as the need and dignity of the kingdom requires; yet they ordinarily ought to be ſeventeen, incluſive of the high officers of the realm, and the lord-lieutenant of Pomerania. The chief care of all theſe ſhall be to adviſe his majeſty in all the important affairs and concerns of the kingdom, whenever it pleaſeth his majeſty to conſult them; to aſſert all rights of the realm, to adviſe all that is moſt advantageous for him and for the kingdom, after the beſt of their judgment; to influence the ſtates and the people to loyalty and willingneſs; to be careful of the right, majeſty, independency, advantage, and flouriſhing ſtate of the king and the realm; and thus, according to what the Decree of the Diet of the year 1602 ſays, adviſe, as their duty demands, but not rule. For the reſt, the ſenators are bound to the king alone, and anſwerable to him only for their counſels; yet the king cannot reproach, or impute to them any bad ſucceſs, which may happen againſt their ſuffrages, expectations, thoughts, and opinions, formed upon good reaſons, eſpecially if the execution of good counſels does not reach the propoſed aim, by the fault of him to whom it is enjoined and commanded to perform and execute them.

5. The king is entitled to govern and rule, ſave and protect towns and countries, and all the rights appertaining to him and to the crown, according to the law and this form of government.

6 6. Whereas

6. Whereas the negociations of peace, truces, and alliances offenfive and defenfive, ſeldom bear the leaſt delay, and neceſſarily require the greateſt ſecrecy, his majeſty therefore conſults with the ſenators in thoſe important matters, and, having pondered and collected their ſuffrages, takes ſuch meaſures and expedients as he himſelf thinks to be the beſt and moſt uſeful for the kingdom; yet if, in thoſe important matters, the ſenate ſhould prove unanimous in an opinion, oppoſite to his majeſty's, then his majeſty yields to their ſentiment; but if the advices ſhould prove different, then his majeſty decides, and approves of that opinion which he himſelf thinks the beſt and moſt advantageous.

7. If the king is a foreigner, he may not go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and conſent of the ſtates of the realm; but if he is a native Swede, then he only needs to communicate his reſolution to the ſenate, and perceive its advice, in the manner ſet down in the foregoing 6.

8. And that all occurring buſineſs may be performed, by his majeſty, with the more activity and order, the affairs are to be divided between the ſenators in the manner his majeſty thinks moſt uſeful and proper; his majeſty, as the head of the kingdom, only being accountable to God and the country for his ruling it; and in all theſe affairs, when his majeſty hath collected the opinions of the ſenators, who are acquainted with thoſe matters, and called by his majeſty to ponder them, his majeſty hath the deciſive voice; yet herefrom ſhall be excepted all the juridical cafes judged at the King's benches, courts martial, or any other of the tribunals in the kingdom, and which come in the laſt inſtance to the final deciſion of the high reviſion of juſtice, which always conſiſts of ſeven ſenators, that have been employed in juridical offices, and are reputed to be juſt and ſkilled in the law, and where his majeſty himſelf hereafter,

after, as before, is present, having there but two voices, and, when the opinions prove even, the decisive vote.

9. It appertains to the king's majesty alone to do acts of grace, and to give pardon; to restore honour, life, and goods, in all crimes, which are not evidently contrary to the holy word of God.

10. All the higher offices, from lieutenant-colonel to field-marshal, both inclusive, and all their equals in the ecclesiastical and civil order, are in the king's gift, in the sitting of the senate, after the following wise:—When a place is vacant, the senators ought to take notice of the capacity and merits of all persons that sue for such places, and who may come into consideration, and make report thereof to his majesty; and his majesty having in the senate indicated the person who is come in his gracious remembrance to be advanced to the same place, the senators give their considerations thereupon in the protocol, but without any further votation. To all other employments the colleges, and other persons concerned, propose to his majesty three persons of the most skilled, worthiest, and best qualified for the vacant place, that are to be found; on which occasion, somebody or other of merit, besides those of the college, may be remembered; and all others that seek for the preferment, and are competent, may be named. In the regiments, the proposal to the vacant post is to be made according to the statute of king Charles XII. of the 6th November 1716. If, in the proposing, any man should be found to be injured, and without reason neglected, the respective persons concerned shall be accountable for it. Out of the soliciting persons his majesty chuseth him that he thinks the most qualified. But all the other lower offices, of which the colleges, chapters, and colonels of the regiments, as well as other bodies, before the year 1680, have been used to dispose, may be now

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and hereafter in their particular gift. Foreigners, being princes or other perſons, may not hereafter be employed in the commiſſions of the crown, neither in the civil nor military ſtate, except in his majeſty's court, if they be not by eminent and great qualities able to do ſignal honour and notable ſervice to the kingdom. To all theſe places ability and experience ſhall only open the way, without any regard to favour or birth, when they are not accompanied with merit. The election of the arch-biſhop, biſhops, and ſuperintendants, ſhall proceed after the former cuſtom, and his majeſty alone nominates one of the three who are propoſed to him by the perſons concerned. The preferment of the paſtors of parithes ſhall be entirely according to the form of government of the year 1720, and the other ſtatutes concerning theſe affairs enacted after that time.

11. The king is alone is entitled to ennoble thoſe that by loyalty, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themſelves well deſerving of the king and the country; but whereas there is a great multitude of noblemen in Sweden, his Majeſty touchſafes to reſtrain this number to one hundred and fifty: and the order of nobles may not deny introduction to theſe one hundred and fifty new families: likewiſe the nobility may not deny introduction to the noblemen his majeſty will create counts or barons, and who by great and eminent merits have deſerved it.

12. All affairs, here above not excepted, are to be reported to his majeſty in his cabinet; or in one of the diviſions in the ſenate, when his majeſty thinks it more proper; or, if his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed, to adviſe with a greater number of ſenators; but in that caſe they ſhall always deemed to have been propoſed in the cabinet.

13. The realm being large, and the affairs many, and of greater importance than that the king alone can be

able

able to examine and clear them all, he needs officers and governors to aſſiſt him.

14. For the diligent attendance, performance, and expedition of the affairs, certain colleges are inſtituted, who, like the arms of the body, extend their care to all that is to be done and executed in the kingdom. They have right and power, every one in their functions, in the name of the king, and in what relates to their charges and office, to command the officers under them, and to keep them who are under their care and direction, to the performance of their duty, to demand account of their expeditions, and to give his majeſty all neceſſary and deſired notice, as well of thoſe as their own buſineſs.

15. In the King's Bench, which is the king's higheſt court of judicature, is to be one preſident, who by learning and ſkill in the law, has made himſelf a qualified judge; and has, for his aſſiſtants, one vice-preſident, and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors of the King's Bench. Theſe high tribunals, every one in their place, have inſpection and care that juſtice may be accountably and well adminiſtered, according to law and eſtabliſhed ſtatutes; which, without miſinterpreting, muſt be obſerved and kept in the judgements after the true and literal ſenſe; inſomuch, that the courts of King's Bench, without profit, ſelf-intereſt, or other conſiderations, do juſtice to every body, as they ſhall be anſwerable before God and the king, leſt unrighteouſneſs might ruin the land and the kingdom. A nobleman may never, in arraignments of capital cauſes, be judged in any other court than that of the King's Bench, entirely as the privileges and ſtatute relating to law-ſuits of the year 1615 preſcribes and commands; yet the trial may be made *in loco*, and no other criminal caſes than thoſe touching life and honour be brought thither. It appertains likewiſe to the King's Bench to have a narrow inſpection

over

over the inferior judges in the cities and country, as well as executors; and when any thing is done by them out of imprudence, blundering, or avarice, they muſt immediately be ſued, judged, and puniſhed as the caſe requires; but if any of them ſhould be convicted of having wilfully, out of hatred, malignity, or for bribes, wronged the juſtice, and thus wounded his conſcience, and damaged his fellow-ſubject on his life, honour, and welfare, ſuch a one ſhall not be puniſhed with fines, or removal from his place, but with loſs of his life and honour, and according to the caſe, pay for his malice and miſchievouſneſs, entirely after the Swediſh law. Nor may ſuch miſdemeanors be huſhed up or countenanced by indulgence or unſeaſonable mercy, leſt, in ſo grave matters, others may be induced to a licentious abuſe of juſtice, when they perceive, that upon the offence, forfeiture and damage, due cenſure and well-deſerved puniſhment does not follow. On the contrary, they who, out of malice, raſhneſs, and revenge, fall upon the judges and executors of the law, in the performance of their offices, with calumnious, ſlandering, and injurious words and writings, without being able fully to prove what they have charged them with, ſhall be immediately and ſeverely puniſhed, as every particular caſe may require; in order that inconſiderate, malicious, and miſchievous perſons may take warning thereat: but nobody, whoſoever he is, ſhall be for a long while kept in priſon without being put to a trial and judgement. And, in order that need and diſtreſs may not give the judge an occaſion and pretence to abuſe his office, the lawman's-judge and ſeſſion-money, granted by the peaſantry to the maintenance of their judges, ſhall be kept untouched, and employed to its due end, and the pay of the judges, after the annual liſt, exactly according to the aſſurance of King Guſtavus Adolphus, of bleſſed memory, in the year 1611. The king's attornies and ſer-

jeants

jeants at law may not exerciſe their offices to the injury of others, and promoting their own ſelf-intereſt: and if this ſhould happen, they ſhall be accountable for it according to law; of which the chancellor of juſtice ſhall have a narrow inſpection: his incumbent duty it is likewiſe to ſee how the law and the ordinances are obeyed, and give an account thereof to his majeſty. The above-mentioned King's Benches ſhall hereafter, as hitherto, be three. The firſt at Stockholm, whereto appertains the whole kingdom of Sweden, properly ſo called in the old law: the ſecond is always at Ionkoping, whereto belongs the whole kingdom of Gothia; and the third has its ſeat at Abo, to which the Great Duchy of Finland reſorts.

16. All commiſſions, deputations with juriſdiction, or extraordinary tribunals, either eſtabliſhed by the king or the ſtates, ſhall be hereafter aboliſhed, as being the means to further ſovereignty or tyranny; and every Swediſh man ſhall enjoy the right to be judged by that court to which he belongs, after the law of Sweden: but if it ſhould happen, that any of ſo high a birth, or the ſenators, or a whole college, ſhould prove guilty of ſo high crimes and miſdemeanors, that it concerns the king, the realm, or the majeſty of the crown, and that the criminal could not be judged neither by the King's Bench, nor by the ſenate, then a tribunal of the realm ſhall be conſtituted, where the king ſhall be preſent, or in his place the prince royal ſhall preſide, or the firſt of the hereditary princes, or the eldeſt ſenator; and whoſe members are to be all the ſenators; the field-marſhal, all the preſidents of the royal colleges, four of the eldeſt counſellors of the three King's Benches, one general, two of the eldeſt lieutenant-generals, two of the eldeſt major-generals, the eldeſt admiral, the two eldeſt vice-admirals, the two eldeſt rear-admirals, the chancellor of the court, and the three ſecretaries of ſtate; the chancellor

lor of juſtice is always ſolicitor; and the eldeſt ſecretary of reviſion ſhall keep the minutes. This tribunal is intitled, the trial paſt, to publiſh the judgement with the doors open, and nobody may afterwards have power to alter it, and much leſs to make it more ſevere: his majeſty not deprived of his prerogative to pardon.

17. Next to the King's Benches follows the Military College, where now, as before, is to be a preſident, the maſter of ordnance, the quarter-maſter-general, and the wonted counſellors of war, who muſt be well uſed to accounts, and are eſpecially to be taken out of thoſe that are ſkilled in matters of war. This college has inſpection and care of the land army in the kingdom, the artillery, uſed both in the field and in the fortreſſes, the body of fortification, guns, factories, weapons, ammunitions, and what belongs thereunto, the condition of the fortreſſes, eſpecially at the frontiers, caſtles, and building for the war, the levying, enliſting, and reviewing of ſoldiers; and ſo further, according to the inſtructions, ordinances, and royal writs, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

18. The whole land army and navy of the kingdom, with the high and low commanders thereof, ſhall take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majeſty, the realm, and the ſtates, according to the eſtabliſhed form. The army of horſe and foot, as well as the mariners, continues, as it is appointed, according to the ſanction, called Indelnings-Werk, and is to be maintained by the contracts made with the peaſantry and the towns, which are to be narrowly performed, obeyed, and kept, until his majeſty, with the ſtates, ſhall find it neceſſary to alter them in any way.

19. No colonel, or any other of the military commanders, may, without his majeſty's own order, ſummon any home-ſent troops to aſſemble, excepted the uſual rendezvous of the regiments, unleſs in caſe of an

unexpected invaſion of the enemies of the kingdom, which ſhall then be inſtantly reported to his majeſty; the chief command belonging to him alone over his whole army and navy, as it has always been uſual in former, and for the country the moſt flouriſhing and happy times.

20. The third college of the realm is the Board of Admiralty, wherein is to be a preſident, and the members are to be all the admirals and flag-officers preſent; but for the better managing of theſe affairs, in his majeſty's council there ſhall be at leaſt one ſenator who hath ſerved in the navy, and is experienced in the marine. This college has the inſpection and care of the navy of the realm, with all things thereto belonging, as well the building of the ſhips, their equipping and furniſhing with guns, as the victualling, the raiſing of the marines, the company of divers, the pilotry, and all other buſineſs thereto belonging, according to the inſtructions, royal writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

21. The fourth college is the Chancery of the Realm, where one of the ſenators always is preſident, having, as members, one or more of the ſenators, one chancellor of the court, the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the uſual counſellors of chancery. In this college, all the ſtatutes, ordinances, and receſſes, concerning the kingdom in general, and the privileges of particular towns and perſons, are framed and penned, eſpecially commiſſions for places, edicts, writs, and warrants: hereto belong likewiſe all the records and rolls of the diets and other aſſemblies, alliances with foreign powers, treaties of peace with enemies, the due diſpatching of envoys, all the counſels the king ordinarily takes from the ſenators, or ſome of them, and the records thereof, as well as all what is iſſued under his majeſty's name and ſeal. This college has likewiſe the neceſſary care for the Poſt-office

fices in the whole kingdom and the adjacent provinces, in order that they, under the inſpection of the chief director, may be duly adminiſtered. The ſecretaries of ſtate are to take particular care that the reſolutions, according to his majeſty's deciſion, and in conformity with the records, may be readily and ſpeedily, duly, and in good order, iſſued, without the leaſt neglect, in what view ſoever it might be. Should any perſon prove ſo raſh as to iſſue a warrant, contrary to his majeſty's deciſion, and therewith endeavour to ſurprize his majeſty (which in ſuch a multitude of expeditions, eaſily might happen) the ſame perſon ſhall, after trial and lawful judgement, be removed from his place, and puniſhed as the crime deſerves. Nor ſhall, therefore, any warrant be hereafter, more than hitherto, obeyed and executed; without due counterſignation, except in military affairs. This college is beſides to follow the ordinance of the chancery, the inſtructions, writs, and royal ſtatutes, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

22. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident of the chancery, the counſellors of chancery that are ſenators, the chancellor of the court, the chancellor of juſtice, the ſecretaries of ſtate, the counſellors of chancery, as well as the ſecretaries of expeditions, and chuſes them to whom his majeſty has the beſt truſt. In the ſame manner his majeſty's envoys to foreign courts are to be conſtituted.

23. The fifth college of the realm is the College of the Chamber, which has a preſident and the uſual counſellors of the chambers. There all who have any buſineſs with the income and expences of the king and crown, are to receive their order and give their accounts according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, hitherto iſſued, or which may hereafter be enacted. The care and endeavour of this college ſhall be to ſee that

the rents and taxes be duly and ſeaſonably gathered and increaſed, the ground well cultivated and improved by a good tillage and huſbandry, in order that the *Regalia Fiſci* may not be neglected, forfeited and purloined; but the ſubſtance of the realm by all means amended, adapted to the expences, kept in order, and in due time received, ſo that the public credit may not be loſt; but that his majeſty, in caſe of need, can depend upon aid and aſſiſtance as well within the kingdom as abroad. The great cuſtom-houſe, with its receipt and accounts, as well as the petty land-tolls and the exciſe, appertain likewiſe, under the inſpection of a chief director, to the care of the college of the chamber, where commiſſions are to be given to the reſpective cuſtom-houſe officers and gatherers, and due ſecurity for his majeſty to be obſerved.

24. In the Exchequer is to be a preſident and the uſual commiſſioners of the exchequer. Hereunto belongs the diſpoſition and diſtribution of the caſh of the crown; and here likewiſe every one that handles the king's money, in due time ought to come in with their accounts (Fœrſlag) according to what their inſtructions ordain. The eſtimates muſt alſo in due time every year be ſettled, and thereby the eſtabliſhment, or liſt of the year 1696, be the baſis and rule; and care be taken, that the officers may be paid out of the incomes and coffers of the crown. But the aforeſaid liſt may not be exceeded or augmented, ſhould not the unavoidable ſervice and intereſt of the king and the kingdom require it. In the liſt ſhall not only ſubſiſt the determined ſum for his majeſty's privy purſe, which always is left to his majeſty's particular will and diſpoſition, but alſo a ſum annually to be appropriated to extraordinary iſſues, and managed after his majeſty's under-written and counterſigned order: the whole, according

ing to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be enacted.

25. His majeſty denominates in the ſenate, but without voting, the preſident and the commiſſioners of the Exchequer, out of ſuch perſons as, by faithfulneſs and ſkill in this intereſting matter, have proved themſelves worthy of his majeſty's truſt.

26. The college of the Mines ſhall likewiſe have a preſident and the uſual counſellors and aſſeſſors; all ſuch perſons, who by learning and experience have made themſelves qualified to be officers of judicature, and alſo have acquired a ſolid knowledge in metallurgic matters, and all the ſciences thereto belonging. This college has inſpection and care of all what concerns the riſe and improvement of the mines and forges.

27. The College of Commerce has alſo a preſident, the uſual counſellors, aſſeſſors and commiſſioners, who have a conſummate knowledge in the matters of commerce and trade. It is the incumbent duty of this college to take care that the commerce may proſper and increaſe, that the manufactures may be ſupported, the work-houſes well regulated and maintained, and duty (Licent) portory, cuſtom-ordinances and taxes obſerved; over and above what inſtructions, writs, and ſtatutes, as are at preſent preſcribed, or hereafter ſhall be ordained.

28. The Reviſion of the Chamber muſt likewiſe have a preſident, who, with the uſual members, takes care, not only that all juridical affairs, there depending, may be lawfully judged and executed by the ſerjeants at law, but alſo that the annual accounts of the crown, without any delay, from that very time they are ſent to the Royal College of the Chamber, and the Reviſion of the Chamber takes notice thereof, may be ſurveyed, explained, elaborated, and finally decided; all according to the inſtructions, writs, and ordinances, which are already, or may hereafter be iſſued.

29. The Lord High Steward of the Realm is one of the ſenators, in whoſe inſpection his majeſty's court, palace, and houſehold are, and who rules, keeps, and takes care of his table and ſervants of the court, with all what thereto belongs.

30. His Majeſty's Court and Houſehold is to be at his own peculiar diſpoſition; his majeſty alone being able to alter, change, and reform whatever he ſhould find neceſſary.

31. The grand governor (Öfver-Ståthallare) of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, lieutenant and quartermaſter of the lifeguard-men, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guard, and alſo the colonel of the horſe-guard, the colonel of the life dragoons, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the general-adjutants and the commandants of the frontier towns, are all charges of truſt, which his majeſty grants or recalls in ſitting ſenate, yet without voting.

32. All the colleges are bound to aſſiſt each other in all what can be conducive to the good and emolument of the king and the kingdom, whenever it ſhall be required and neceſſary: yet one college muſt not encroach or do any hindrance and prejudice to the other; but each attend to its buſineſs with due activity, care, ſedulity, faith, and prudence. The preſidents, when they are preſent in their colleges, enjoy their due power and authority; but when they are abſent in the king's, or their own private affairs, although they then keep the title and honour due to their quality, yet they cannot order, diſpoſe, and command any thing that belongs to the charge of preſidents, till they ſhall return and be ſeated in their regular function. During their abſence, the eldeſt member of the college performs, with equal right, authority, and effect, all what is adherent to the charge. The colleges are accountable to the king for their behaviour

viour when he requires, and ſhall anſwer nobody but him alone for their adminiſtration.

33. The regency of the provinces is eſtabliſhed in certain governments juſt as they now are conſtituted; ſo that there never, for the future, ſhall be any general-governor in this realm, if not on a very peculiar emergency, and then for a ſhort time: alſo ſhall there no appanage, province, or government be beſtowed; but the provinces ſhall be divided in the ſame governments they now, according to the Form of Regency de Anno 1720, actually are.

34. The prince heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, and alſo the princes of the royal Swediſh blood, cannot have any appanage, or general-government, but muſt depend upon ſuch annual allowance that can be allotted them from the Exchequer, which money, for the hereditary princes, muſt not be leſs than one hundred thouſand dollars S. mt.* from the day they ſhall be declared of age, which is at twenty-one years. The princes of the Swediſh blood, who are more diſtant from the crown, ſhall have ſuch an annual penſion for their maintenance, as can be convenient and ſuitable to their birth. Yet they can be diſtinguiſhed with the titles of duchies, as in old times has been in faſhion; but without any right to thoſe provinces whoſe name they bear, which always ſhall be incorporated under one head and ruler, without any diminution or ſeparation.

35. Concerning the ſuſtenance of the prince royal, who always is the reigning king his eldeſt ſon, or grandſon, in a direct deſcending line, it muſt be beſtowed in the ſame manner as eſtabliſhed for the late king Adolphus Frederichus his ſon's, our now reigning moſt gracious king's Guſtavus's the III. annual maintenance.

* About £.4,166.

And when he is come to the age of eighteen years, he ſhall be admitted into the council of the king.

36. No prince of the Swediſh blood, although he may be prince royal, or hereditary prince, or of a more diſtant line, may marry without the king's knowledge and conſent. In the caſe any one ſhould contravene, he ſhall be judged after the Swediſh law, and the children be diſinherited.

37. The king being ſick, or abſent upon a long journey, then the regency is to be adminiſtered by thoſe of the ſenate, whom the king has denominated for that purpoſe; but if the king ſhould fall ſick ſo ſuddenly, that he cannot give any orders how the affairs of the realm ſhould be managed, then all the warrants and decrees are to be ſigned by the four eldeſt ſenators and the preſident of the chancery: theſe five together are to exerciſe the royal power in all affairs that require a quick diſpatch; but they are not entitled to denomination of employments, nor to conclude alliances, before the king being ſo reſtored to health, that he himſelf can take in hands the affairs of government; and then theſe ſhall be accountable to the king how buſineſs has been diſpatched. But if the king dies, and the prince royal is under age, then the government of the realm is to be adminiſtered in the manner above-mentioned, unleſs that the late king had made any teſtamentary diſpoſition; in which caſe it ſhall be according to the king's ſaid teſtament.

38. The ſtates of the realm muſt not fail to convene, when called by the king, on time and place indicated, there to conſult with his majeſty on ſuch affairs, whereabout his majeſty deſires their meeting. Nobody elſe but the king alone ſhall have the power to call the ſtates to a public diet, except in the minority of the king; then the tutors* exerciſe this power. But if the crown

* Guardians.

ſhould

ſhould happen to be vacant by the extinction of the whole royal family on the male ſide (for which ſad event the gracious God beware!) then the ſtates of the kingdom are bound, without any convocation, on the 30th day after the death of the king, of themſelves to meet at Stockholm, according to our act of convention, de dato Junii 23d, 1743; which act alſo expreſſes the penalty on whoſoever in that caſe ſhould endeavour, with practices and conſpiracies, to encroach upon the free election of the ſtates. In that unhappy event, it is incumbent on the wardens of the houſe of nobles, the chapter of Upſala, and the court of magiſtrates at Stockholm, inſtantly to publiſh it, in all the provinces, for the knowledge of all who are concerned; and whereas the provincial governors then are obliged, each in his territory, to make known the demiſe of the king to all the inhabitants, it is expected, that ſo many will be preſent before the appointed time, that they may be able to ſave and defend the liberty of the country, and a new ſucceſſor to the crown be choſen.

39. The ſtates of the kingdom are bound, with faithful concern, to leave intemerate all the royal prerogatives, after the dictates of the Swediſh law, ſo that they ſhall be kept in their full vigour and ſtrength, in order that all what in ſuch manner appertains to the royal authority ſhall be zealouſly and carefully maintained, defended, and ſtrengthened; wherefore, nothing of theſe fundamental laws is to be reformed, augmented or diminiſhed, without the concert and agreement of the king, on purpoſe that no unlawfulneſs might render invalid the enacted law, or the liberty of the ſubjects, together with the king's rights, be invaded and ſubdued; but each be in poſſeſſion of his due rights and privileges: to that end all the ſtatutes, from the year 1680 till this preſent time, which have been conſidered

as

as fundamental laws, in virtue of this ſhall be abrogated and rejected.

40. The king ſhall have no power to make new laws without the knowledge and aſſent of the ſtates, nor abrogate an old one received formerly.

41. The ſtates ſhall have no power to abrogate old laws, nor to make new ones, without the king's conſent and approbation.

42. When a new law is to be ſettled, the following method ſhall be obſerved: if the ſtates of the realm wiſh for a new ſtatute, then they are to conſult among themſelves, and after they are come to agreement, the project is to be preſented to his majeſty by their four ſpeakers, for to perceive the king's ſentiment. His majeſty thereupon aſks the advice of the ſenate; and when he himſelf has pondered it, and fixed his reſolution, he calls the ſtates to public meeting in the Great-hall (Riks-Salen), and gives them, in a ſhort ſpeech, his conſent and agreement, or elſe the reaſons for his refuſal. But if the king ſhould propoſe a new law, he is at firſt to communicate it to the ſenate; and when the ſenators have given their advice to the protocol, the whole matter is to be delivered to the ſtates, who, after having conſulted, and come to an agreement amongſt themſelves, aſk for a day to preſent their conſent to his majeſty in the Great-hall: but if it happens to be a refuſal, then they deliver their reaſons for it in writing by their four ſpeakers.

43. If there ſhould be raiſed ſome new queſtion about the true meaning of the law, as in former times frequently has happened, then it ſhall be decided in the ſame manner as in the 42d article here above is enacted.

44. Although it always is an appurtenance to the crown to coin money, yet the ſtates have reſerved themſelves, when any raiſing or debaſing of the ſtandard, or

intrinsic value, should be designed or undertaken, that such a reformation shall not come to pass without their knowledge and agreement.

45. The king is to defend and save the country, particularly from foreign and hostile invasion; but he cannot against the tenor of the law, his royal oath and assurance, levy any aids for war, new taxes, enrolling of men, or other duties, without the knowledge of the states, and their free will and consent; yet, that unhappy case excepted, when the kingdom should be attacked by an army, then his majesty has power to take such measures, for the security of the realm, as he shall judge convenient for the good of his subjects; but as soon as the war is finished, the states must be called, and the new taxes in behalf of the war quite abolished.

46. The assemblies of the states are not to subsist longer than at most three months: and in order to avoid that the country being aggrieved by the expences of long diets, as has happened heretofore, the king is empowered, after that time, to dissolve the assembly, and send away the deputies each to his own home; and if, in the like occasion, no new subsidies were granted, the old ones then are to subsist.

47. The states are intitled to denominate and chuse the persons who are to be seated in those committees, with which the king will please to consult about such business as he designs shall be kept secret. These members are invested with all that right and authority which appertains to the states themselves: but all matters that can be published shall be communicated to the states, and imparted to their deliberation.

48. The king has no power to wage war without the assent and agreement of the states.

49. No other minutes, but of such affairs that have been under the deliberation of the king with the states, can be required or delivered to them.

50. The

50. The ſtate and condition of the Exchequer ſhall be laid open before the ſtates of the realm, in order to take cognizance that the public money has been ſpent to the good and welfare of the country.

51. If a member of the ſtates, during the diet, or on his journey to or from the diets, ſhould be injured and wronged with words and deeds, when he has made known that he is in that quality and buſineſs, it ſhall be puniſhed as a breach of the king's peace.

52. His majeſty aſſures to maintain all the ſtates of the kingdom in their duly acquired old privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties; and alſo, no new privileges for any one of the ſtates, without the knowledge, advice, and conſent of all the four ſtates, ſhall be given or imparted.

53. To his majeſty's gracious care alone the German provinces are left, that they may be governed according to the laws of the empire, and the tenor of the treaty of Weſtphaly.

54. The cities and towns of the kingdom are to remain in their duly acquired privileges and rights, which were granted and given them by former kings; yet ſo, that they are to be fitted and adapted to the circumſtances of the times, for the good and advantage of the commonwealth.

55. The bank of the ſtates is to remain hereafter as before, under their guarantee, and at their own diſpoſition, ſo that it is to be adminiſtered according to the rules and ſtatutes already enacted, or ſuch as the ſtates will eſtabliſh for the future.

56. The caſh of penſions belonging to the army ſhall remain, according to the ordinances already confirmed, or ſuch as his majeſty, with the faithful military commanders and deputies from the regiments, will agree to.

57. If this law in any point ſhould be found obſcure, the

the literal contents muſt be obſerved, till the king and the ſtates, in the manner expreſſed hereabove, articles 39 and 42, ſhall agree upon the true ſenſe.

All this, We, now here aſſembled States, have judged neceſſary for the regular government of the realm, our liberty and ſecurity, to ratify and enact for us, our abſent fellow-ſubjects, our poſterity born and unborn. We declare and proteſt hereby anew, that we bear the greateſt abhorrence to a king's deſpotic power, or the ſo-called ſovereignty; deeming that our higheſt felicity, honour, and advantage, to be and dwell free and ſelf-independent, law-giving but law-obſerving ſtates, under the ſway of a king in power, but bound to the law; both of us tied together and protected by the law, who preſerves us and our dear country from the dangers which are the ſad effects of diſorder, licentiouſneſs, deſpotiſm, and an ariſtocratic government of many, to the detriment of the whole ſociety, and to the grievance and diſtreſs of every ſubject. We are ſo much the more aſſured to have an orderly, lawful, and happy government, as his majeſty has declared, that he will regard it as his greateſt honour to be the firſt citizen amongſt a free people; and we are hopeful that the like ſentiments will be propagated in the royal family, from father to ſon, till the lateſt times of the world. Therefore we declare enemy to us and the country whoever ſhall be ſo imprudent and malignant a fellow-ſubject, as to endeavour to draw us off from this ſanction by cheat and craft, ſecret plots or open violence, in order to intrude upon us royal deſpotiſm or ſovereignty; or, under the pretence and ſhow of liberty, overthrow theſe laws, which, when they corroborate a true and uſeful liberty, ſhut the doors to licentiouſneſs and confuſion. Whoever it may be, ſhall be puniſhed without mercy, according to the plain law of Sweden. We aſſure alſo, in virtue of our ſworn fealty and this form of government, that

we

we ſhall keep loyal obedience to his majeſty, fulfil his orders in all that is due and warrantable before God and men, for him to command, and for us to do, all rights being ſafe, that belong to him and ourſelves, as it becomes faithful men and ſubjects.

Signed and ſealed in Stockholm the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour 1772.

For the Nobility.
A. G. LEIONHUFWUD.
h. t Landtmarſhal.
(L. S.)

For the Clergy.
AND. H. FORSSENIUS.
Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Burghers.
JOH. H. HOCHSCHILD.
In the place of the Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Peaſantry.
JOSEPH HANSSON.
Speaker.
(L. S.)

All this here above written, We ourſelves not only receive as a firm fundamental law, but we ordain likewiſe, and enjoin all who are bound to Us and our Succeſſors to the reign, with fidelity, allegiance, and loyalty, to acknowledge, keep, and obey this form of government. For the more certainty, we have ſigned this with our own hand, and cauſed our Royal Seal to be put hereunder, at Stockholm, the 21ſt day of Auguſt, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour one thouſand ſeven hundred and the ſeventy-ſecond.

GUSTAVUS.

N° 2.

Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from and to ENGLAND and RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, from CHRISTMAS 1778 to CHRISTMAS 1782.

	RUSSIA.		SWEDEN.		DENMARK.	
	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.	Value of Exports.	Value of Imports.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1779	306,072 15 11	1,201,377 14 4	108,403 4 7	252,431 4 2	150,615 2 4	73,171 13 5
1780	161,031 10 5	1,150,429 12 11	49,678 10 5	144,180 17 1	156,085 19 5	86,731 4 4
1781	137,967 6 7	1,206,806 18 7	62,510 8 10	212,414 19 11	172,012 19 9	94,639 1 10
1782	196,577 9 10	1,185,844 14 4	56,083 2 7	163,219 7 11	164,732 2 4	73,038 9 2

N° 2.

No. 3.

SWEDISH COMMERCE.

EXPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
COPPER plates, ordinary	22,308	11	11½
Copper, refined	26,579	2	7½
Hammered copper plates	90	13	0½
Large copper plates	1,979	3	0½
Old minted copper plates	42,798	1	3
Different ſorts of copper	1,572	3	0½
Braſs	2	1	11½
Braſs wire	39,079	5	7½
Braſs kettles	0	11	8
Different ſorts of braſs	112	2	2½
Iron anchors	2,343	10	10
Iron plates, tinned	1,079	16	11½
Iron plates, not tinned	23	6	8
Iron cannons	9,799	0	10
Balls	194	16	8
Iron pots	104	3	7½
Different ſorts of ſmaller bar iron	30,556	14	7
Ordinary bar iron	524,104	11	4½
Iron plates	15,329	0	5
Steel	7,528	5	10
Steel wire	54	0	5
Nails	8,677	10	7½
Ditto, coarſer	9,049	1	11½
Wrought iron of the finer ſort	5,776	3	6½
Ditto of the coarſer ſort	14,954	3	1½
Different ſorts of iron and ſteel	620	17	1
Axle-trees	307	16	10½

Beams

	£.	s.	d.
Beams of fir	1,496	11	4½
Ordinary deals	53,029	0	10
Thicker deals	12,802	14	0½
Planks of the thickeſt ſort	8,248	9	2
Lath	499	1	0½
Fir planks	208	8	9
Maſts	354	0	10
Rafters	23	1	0½
Thicker ſpars	79	15	8
Ditto, leſſer ſort	1,279	0	10
Laths	303	14	0½
Staves of beech wood	227	13	2½
Wood	421	0	2½
Ditto, manufactured	153	6	3
Lumber	1,101	3	11½
Different ſtones	4,027	4	0½
Furs	297	10	11½
Corn	588	11	6½
Victuals	754	3	1½
Herrings	84,453	1	8
Fiſh	286	9	10½
Cattle	335	5	3½
Sail cloth	4,054	10	11½
Linen	124	1	1½
Alum	9,954	6	0½
Common aſhes	229	16	8
Pot aſhes	8,282	1	11½
Pitch	32,354	2	1
Pitch oil	129	0	11½
Chalk	4,476	15	3½
Printed books	479	0	10
Guns and piſtols	19	19	9½
Herbs for dying yellow	12	6	8
Different ſorts of cordage	104	5	10
Gunpowder	4	15	11½
Different kinds of furniture	152	0	3½
Beer	298	0	10
Earthen ware	1,099	14	0½
Collothar, or brown red	407	1	3
Fiſh oil	47,546	1	11½
Tar	96,546	18	2½

	£.	s.	d.
Saffron	1,743	1	2½
Watches	304	5	7½
Vitriol	52	5	10
New-built ships	17,295	15	1½
Baulks	745	15	0
Silks	1,570	6	11½
Different goods	1,280	19	2
Salt	8,799	1	3
Oak staves	1,495	15	11½
Wines	3,245	8	4
French brandy	335	0	10
Tobacco leaves	13,299	0	5
Tea	12,494	4	0½
Oil of turpentine	99	16	8
White lead	37	5	10
Cochineal	1,995	14	0½
Pepper	1,145	16	8
Sugar	154	15	3½
Cinnamon	495	5	10
Nutmegs	154	16	11½
Mace	76	10	5
Hemp	174	12	9½
Flax	394	14	0½
Different other merchandizes	40,828	16	6½
Freights for exported goods upon Swedish bottoms	118,341	18	1½
Total of Exports	£. 1,368,830	13	5

IMPORTS.

	£.	s.	d.
Silks	15,528	9	0¼
Cambrick	1,598	12	8¼
Muslin	618	6	6¼
Indian cottons	4,859	3	0¼
Different sorts of thread and linen	14,449	9	5¼
Printed cottons	6	8	4¼
Cloth	23,952	0	0
Camphire	249	8	9
Galls	383	11	11¼
Amber	44	11	3
Liquorice	587	6	8
Oil (coarse)	9,658	16	1¼
Quickfilver	248	14	10½
Turpentine	411	7	11
Wax	501	1	8
Tobacco in leaves	31,236	6	11¼
Tobacco	14,146	7	4¼
White lead	1,198	18	10¾
Brafil wood	744	11	0½
Cochineal	2,122	15	5
Pernambuc	956	6	9¼
Indigo	7,751	11	1
Madder	2,436	7	3½
Cream of tartar	746	17	4¼
Colours	13,994	11	8
Anchovies	273	11	1¼
Coffee	29,857	16	4½
Rice	2,184	1	11¼
Paper	6,858	8	6½
Linfeed	996	16	6¼
Soap	874	2	1
Divers drugs	26,718	13	6½
Annis	437	4	5¾
Cinnamon	224	19	2
Currants	282	17	8½
Figs	1,254	1	0½
Ginger	993	12	7½
Almonds	2,486	18	0¼

		s.	d.
Nutmegs	747	8	5½
Mace	961	15	7½
Cloves	224	1	8
Pepper	2,196	11	11½
Raiſins	5,028	14	2
Saffron	396	16	3
Plums	1,697	16	9½
Different grocery wares	411	6	10½
Sugar in powder	52,807	15	11½
Different ſorts of ſugar	54,569	0	6½
Peaſe	7,365	16	5½
Wheat	19,728	15	0
Rye	205,829	4	8½
Corn	34,028	6	11½
Malt	44,775	7	1
Oats	3,479	6	4½
Wheat meal	40	6	9½
Gruaux	579	1	11½
Different ſorts of corn	1,025	17	2½
Live cattle	8,195	3	7½
Meat	2,198	11	3
Cheeſe	9,778	1	9½
Hams	120	17	11
Salt meat	781	16	8
Dry meat	52	13	2½
Butter	5,217	16	8
Tallow	14,297	6	4½
Fiſh of different ſorts	8,114	16	0½
Salt and dried fiſh	7,354	8	10½
Fruits	2,470	15	8½
Lead	5,004	1	3
Printed books	2,804	0	3½
Calamine	979	11	11½
Feathers	217	18	1½
Hair	2,735	0	7½
Potters' earth	1,808	15	5
Tin	4,280	6	11½
Wax candles	819	0	10
Pit coal	5,293	0	5
Different goods	14,981	18	9
French wine	18,546	11	8

Rheniſh

	£.	s.	d.
Rheniſh wine	1,696	13	1½
Portugueſe and Spaniſh wine	1,998	11	3
Cider and vinegar	737	4	9½
Wines, liquors, &c.	23,399	8	0½
Silk	24,779	0	10
Cotton	4,299	13	2¾
Cotton, thread	3,244	0	10
Ditto, worſted	1,731	1	8
Hides	11,824	0	0
Hemp	57,926	19	5
Flax	29,107	17	7½
Poliſh wool	19,554	0	3½
Spaniſh wool	3,029	4	10½
Sole leather	12,327	10	10
Pot-aſhes	100	5	7½
Linen thread	2,818	5	11½
Different rude materials	18,886	17	7½
Eaſt India goods conſumed in Sweden	10,810	2	6
Freight paid to foreign ſhips	6,301	0	2½
Total of Imports	£.1,008,392	12	4½

No. 4.

ABSTRACT OF BERGMAN'S SCIAGRAPHIA MINERALIS.

"THE *Sciagraphia Mineralis**, although but the outlines of a ſyſtem, will be thankfully received by all mineralogiſts. Cronſtedt laid the baſis of the method purſued in this tract, and made an extenſive progreſs in the proſecution of it. Bergman profeſſes to have adopted his ideas; and, after his example, begins by eſtabliſhing the following firſt principles.

"Firſt, that of whatſoever value external appearance may be in the arrangement of organized bodies, as in animals and plants, yet it is not to be truſted in the claſſing of unorganized ſubſtances; colour, conſiſtence, and texture, being too variable to be depended on as certain characteriſtics. He by no means, however, diſallows the uſe of theſe external qualities; ſince, to an experienced eye, they will greatly aſſiſt us in aſcertaining the nature of foſſils, and frequently direct to the ſhorteſt method of analizing them. Secondly, it is only from a knowledge of the internal compoſition, that the claſſes, genera, and ſpecies of foſſils are to be determin-

* This tract has been lately tranſlated by Dr. Withering. See outlines of Mineralogy from the original of Sir Torbern Bergman, &c.

ed; and the external appearance muſt be referred to the diſtinction of varieties only. Thirdly, in general, the principle or matter which abounds moſt in any ſubſtance, is to determine its place in the ſyſtem. But this law muſt be ſubject to exceptions, where one of the compounds is, as a baſe, the moſt important part of the mixed body. This holds in the earths, and particularly in the ores of metals. Fourthly, the ſolid principles muſt uſually be admitted to form the generical character, although it ſhould exiſt in a leſs proportion than the fluid part. To inſtance in magneſia, gypſum, and alum, in all which the genus is determined from the ſolid ingredient, or the earth, and not by the fluid part or vitriolic acid; although the quantity of the latter greatly exceeds that of the former. The ſpecific characters are to be deduced from the different combinations and proportions of the ſeveral principles in each.

"All mineral bodies fall into four great claſſes:—1. Salts; 2. Earths; 3. Bitumens; and 4. Metals.

Class I. Salts.

"Salts are acid, alkaline, neutral, earthy, and metallic. In this claſs, to the three well-known acids of vitriol, nitre, and ſea ſalt, the author, beſide introducing the phoſphoric acid as a principle, has joined alſo the fluor acid; the acid of arſenic; one newly diſcovered in black lead, called the acid of *molybdena*; one called the acid of *calx ponderoſa*; the acid of borax; that of amber; and laſtly, the aerial acid, or fixed air. The fluor acid, firſt diſcovered by Mr. Scheele, has, while in the form of vapours, the power of corroding glaſs, and with water forms ſiliceous earth*. It is found united

* It has been ſince diſcovered and acknowledged by the author, that although the fluor acid diſſolves ſiliceous earths whenever it

united to a calcareous baſe in the *fluor mineralis*; and, as profeſſor Bergman ſtrongly ſuſpects, enters into the compoſition of all ſiliceous bodies. The acid of *molybdena* the profeſſor conjectures to be of metallic origin; and he thinks there is reaſon to believe, that each metal has its peculiar acid, although, as yet, from the ſtronger union of the acid with the phlogiſton, it has not been developed, except in arſenic, where the coheſion is leſs firm.

" To the number of alkaline ſalts there is no addition. The neutral are divided into perfect and imperfect: the latter, being thoſe in which one of the component principles exiſts, either in a ſmaller quantity, or is weaker in its power than is fully requiſite. The more perfect neutral ſalts, formed by the union of the three alkalies, with the three primitive mineral acids, are well known. The imperfect are, tincal or borax, being the mineral alkali partially impregnated with a peculiar acid; the vegetable alkali united with the aerial acid, which, he obſerves, is ſeldom found native, except in the neighbourhood of great woods deſtroyed by fire; the *alkali minerali aëratum*, or natron; and the alkali volatile *aëratum*; for an account of which ſee Phil. Tranſ. Vol. LVII.

" Among the earthy ſalts he has introduced that from which the firſt of his primitive earths is produced. He calls it *terra ponderoſa vitriolata*. Among the ſalts the profeſſor has alſo brought the gypſum, or ſelenites, under the name of *calx vitriolata*; the *calx nitrata*, or terrene nitre, found ſparingly in waters: he relates, upon this article, that there are ſaid to be chalk-hills in France ſpontaneouſly impregnated with the nitrous acid; the *calx ſalita*, or fixed ammoniacal ſalt; the *calx*

meets with them; yet, that it does not, as he imagined in this place, when in a ſtate of vapour, actually form ſiliceous earth with water.

aërata,

aërata, or marble, lime ſtone, &c. of waters; the *magneſia vitriolata*, or Epſom ſalt; the *magneſia nitrata aërata*; and finally, the alum, or *argilla vitriolata*.

" The metallic ſalts are, the *cuprum vitriolatum*, or blue vitriol; *ferrum vitriolatum*, or green vitriol; *ferrum aëratum*, or iron diſſolved by the aerial acid in mineral waters; *niccolum vitriolatum*, or vitriol of nickel; *zincum vitriolatum*, or white vitriol; and the *manganeſium* ſalitum*, or manganeſe united to the muriatic acid, which has been found diſſolved in ſome waters by Mr. Hielm.

" The profeſſor cloſes this claſs by enumerating ſome ſpecies of ſalts, which are compoſed of three or more principles, ſo ſtrictly combined as not to ſeparate in chryſtallizing. Theſe *ſales triplices* are the ſalt of the ocean mixed with magneſia; Epſom ſalt, with martial vitriol, native alum, impregnated with martial vitriol, and with vitriol of cobalt; blue vitriol with iron; green vitriol with nickel; and blue vitriol, with iron and zinc.

" Throughout this claſs are conciſely pointed out the ſeveral *matrices* and natural modes of exiſtence of all theſe ſubjects; as well as the method of procuring the pure artificial ones, and of detecting them when in ſolution; the earthy ſalts being precipitated by mild, and the metallic by phlogiſticated alkalies. In all the claſſes profeſſor Bergman, after the manner of Linnæus, Wallerius, and Cronſtedt, has endeavoured to give names to all the ſubjects expreſſive of the internal characters or principles of each.

* In the original it is magneſium; but Mr. Withering informs us, that it is now changed, by the concurrence of profeſſor Bergman, to *manganeſium*, in order to prevent confuſion from its ſimilarity to magneſia.

CLASS II. EARTHS.

"Of theſe he allows only five diſtinct kinds, or ſuch as are termed primitive earths, being incapable, by any art yet known, of further decompoſition.

"Theſe are, 1. *Terra ponderoſa*, or heavy earth; 2. Calx, or calcareous earth; 3. Magneſia; 4. *Argilla*, or argillaceous earth; and 5. *Terra ſilicea*, or ſiliceous earth. Cronſtedt had ſtated nine primitive earths, of which Bergman has reduced the garnet kind, micaceous, and the zeolitic, to his argillaceous genus; having diſcovered them to be compounded principally of that earth, with various proportions of ſome other of his primitive earths. He has ſince alſo found the aſbeſtine earth of Cronſtedt to be a compounded earth; and as to the manganeſe, it ſtands no longer in this claſs, but occupies the laſt place among the ignoble metals.

"The *terra ponderoſa*, which the author firſt detected in 1774, is procured in its preſent ſtate from the ponderous ſpar, or *marmor metallicum*; which, with the *lapis hepaticus* (Cronſ. § 24), appears hitherto to be the only ſubſtance in which it has been found; though he ſcarcely doubts but that it will be diſcovered in many others. 2. *Calx*. The moſt pure is yielded by chalk. Under this genus are ranged, firſt, the limeſtones of Cronſ. § 5—12. called here *calx aërata*; the *lapis ſuillus*, which is limeſtone impregnated with *petroleum*; *fluor mineralis*, or ſparry fluor of Cronſ. § 87—101; marle, which he calls *calx aërata tam argillaceo quam ſiliceo inquinata*; and ſeveral others. 3. *Magneſia*, procured from Epſom ſalt. Profeſſor Bergman enumerates five ſpecies; among which are the ſoap-rocks, (Cronſ. 79—83), which he denominates *magneſia ſiliceo intime adunata*. All theſe, except the pure magneſia of waters, are much contaminated by iron. 4. *Argilla*. The pure elementary earth of this kind is beſt obtained from alum. Under this genus are enumerated ten ſpecies, as having the

the argillaceous earth for the principal basis: the porcelain clay; bole; marle; *terra lemnia*; white alum ore; alum slate; the gems, such, as the ruby, sapphire, topaz, emerald; the granites, basaltes or scherle; zeolite; and the talky and micaceous bodies. The diamond is not ranged under this head. The tourmalin holds a middle place between the gems and the scherles. 5. *Terra silicea*, procured in its purest state from rock chrystal. This earth is insoluble in all the acids, except the fluor acid. The professor seems to suspect that it is, nevertheless, not a pure primitive or elementary earth. Under this genus rank all the quartz tribe; chalcedony; probably also the opal; jaspers; *petrosilex* or chert; feldt spat; and the yellowish green cloudy topaz, or *crysoprasius*. Whether the cornelian, and the remaining part of the flinty stones, belong to this genus, he is yet not able to determine.

Class III. Bitumens.

"Our inflammable bodies; which the author divides only into two genera, under the names of sulphur and petroleum. Among the first, rank common brimstone; plumbago; black lead or Molybdena, a sulphur united to a peculiar acid. Under the genera of petroleum, he classes the naptha and rock oils, coal, and amber. Professor Bergman adopts the opinion of M. Aublet, concerning the vegetable origin of amber-grease*. But it is very lately rendered more probable, that it is an animal production, being the scybala of the whale. This opinion is ingeniously supported by reason and analogy, as well as by some facts, in a paper written by Dr. Schwediawer, in the last volume of the Philosophical

* See Histoire des Plantes de la Guiane Françoise, Vol. II. Sup. p. 39. Couma Tab. 392.

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Tranſactions *. Many mineralogiſts will be ſurpriſed to ſee the diamond in the bituminous claſs; yet profeſſor Bergman confeſſes that he could not find a more proper ſtation for it: and he juſtifies himſelf on the following conſiderations. It remains untouched by all the acids; it is evaporable in the open fire, appearing to to diſſipate in a cloud, or lambent flame; and in the focus of the ſpeculum it leaves ſlight traces of ſooty remains. This deflagration, howſoever ſlow and gentle, he apprehends, reduces it to a place among inflammable bodies.

CLASS IV. METALS.

"In the introductory ſection to this claſs, the profeſſor aſſerts the great affinity that ſubſiſts between bituminous bodies and metals, by obſerving, that both zinc and arſenic flame when properly heated in the fire.

"He divides metals into noble and ignoble; and treats of them in the order of their ſpecific gravities.

"Of gold he enumerates four ſpecies, found in a native ſtate; and, though he mentions a *pyrites aureus* (Cronſ. § 166. *a*), has nevertheleſs ſome doubts, as to the reality of the mineralization of gold. Platina †, he ſays, is always debaſed with a martial admixture. Of ſilver he gives ſeven ſpecies as native, and eleven mineralized. He attributes to Mr. Woulfe the merit of obſerving the vitriolic principle in horn ſilver; and gives him equal praiſe for his diſcovery, that mercury is mineralized by

* Vol. II. p. 226—241.

† Count Sickengen has lately diſcovered a means of purifying platina, by which that metal, before ſuppoſed to be to water as 18 to 1, is now proved to be as 21 to 1. Gold is only as 19.64 to 1. See Verſuche ueber die Platina. Manheim.

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the muriatic and vitriolic acids. Under lead, the profeſſor mentions a ſpecies found by M. Mounet, which is mineralized by means of the vitriolic acid; and another, detected by Dr. Gahn, which is reduced to ore by the phoſphoric acid.

"He has exhibited, under the article of copper, a ſpecies ſent to him by Mr. Werner, which he found to be mineralized with argillaceous earth and muriatic acid. Only nine ſpecies of iron* are enumerated in this work; one of which, he ſays, contains a new metal. This has ſince been further inveſtigated, exalted in fact to the rank of a metal, and moſt aptly named *ſiderum*. The miſpickel of authors is removed from the arſenic ores to the iron, and deſcribed under the name of *ferrum nativum arſenico adunatum*. He tells us, that he never ſaw native tin; and doubts its exiſtence. Two new ſpecies from Siberia are mentioned in the preface, under the name of *ſtannum ſulphuratum*.

"Biſmuth and nickel ſtand nearly as they do in Cronſtedt; except that Bergman does not notice the nickel of Cronſtedt, which is ſaid to be mineralized by the vitriolic acid. The ſpecies of arſenic and cobalt remain nearly the ſame in profeſſor Bergman's arrangement, as in that of Cronſtedt. The profeſſor ſeems to think, that the analyſis of arſenic leads further into the true nature of metallic ſubſtances than that of any other metal; ſince, from arſenic, not only the redundant quantity of phlogiſton is capable of being extricated, ſo as to leave it in a calciform ſtate, as in other metals; but, by further management, it can alſo be de-

* In 1782, was publiſhed by Sweno Rinman, director of the iron manufactories, a moſt able treatiſe, "Foerſoek till Jærnets hiſtoria," or Eſſay on the Hiſtory of Iron, the reſult of forty years obſervations. A tranſlation of this work could not fail of being highly uſeful to the Engliſh naturaliſt and manufacturer.

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